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ALEXANDER I.

EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

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ALEXANDER I.

EMPEROR OF RUSSIA;

OR,

A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE,

AND OF THE MOST IMPORTANT

EVENTS OF HIS REIGN.

BY H. E. LLOYD, ESQ.

36418 ac

May a Monument be erected to me in your hearts, as it is to you in mine. May my people bless me in their hearts, as in mine I bless them. May Russia be happy, and may the Divine Blessing watch over her, and over me.

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INTRODUCTORY ANECDOTES

TO THE

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER.

In offering to the public an account of the life of the Emperor Alexander, we do not pretend to give, in so short a compass, any thing more than a sketch of the principal events of his reign; but, imperfect as it necessarily is, it will, we trust, be found to contain an impartial view of them, and to afford a fair estimate of his character.

If ever it is required of a writer to observe the maxim of the poet, "nothing extenuate, nor aught set down in malice," it is peculiarly so in a case like the present, where the original,

whose portrait is to be delineated, is placed in a situation too remote, or too elevated, for the artist accurately to discriminate those finer traits, those fleeting shades of expression, which mark the workings of the inward mind. In such a case the first part of the above maxim might even admit of some latitude, and the "nothing extenuate" be understood to include only actions manifestly indefensible, while indulgence, if not approval, should be extended to others, for which an apology may be found in the peculiar circumstances, whether of a public or private nature, which must have exercised a commanding influence over the conduct. Happily for the fame of Alexander, his natural disposition led him to mix so much in society, to show himself so unreservedly to those who approached him, that he afforded the world ample opportunity to be convinced, that if Providence had not thought fit, for the benefit of a vast empire, to make him the most powerful of sovereigns, he would still have been in private life, one of the most virtuous and amiable of men.

The numerous anecdotes recorded in the following pages must contribute, we are persuaded, to give our readers this favourable impression of his character; which would be still stronger if we had merely traced, what may be called, his private career, without any interruption from the overpowering public events of his memorable reign. With a view therefore to do him entire justice as a man, as well as a sovereign, we will here subjoin a few miscellaneous anecdotes for which no appropriate place was found in the narration, or the chronological order of which cannot be well ascertained.

"Alexander, when an infant," says an able writer, "needed not the appendages of royalty to render him interesting. Nature had formed him in a beautiful mould, and his features were expressive of beauty, gentleness, and innocence."

From his earliest years he was remarkable

for his respect and attachment to the persons entrusted with his education, and for his exemplary conduct towards his mother, the Empress Maria, which truly deserved the name of filial piety, being in him a feeling next akin to religion, a holy flame which burnt with unvarying splendour from his childhood to his grave. So entirely innate in him was this feeling, that he beheld with abhorrence, and when the occasion served, marked by his serious displeasure any violation of the divine precept, "Honour thy mother;" and it was but a few months before his death, that a young prince, who had treated his mother with disrespect, received orders to reside only in Moscow, under the special superintendence of Prince Golyzin, the military governor general, and of the guardians appointed for him, who were at the same time commanded to take the administration of his property into their hands. He not only treated his tutors with respect while under their care, but continued through life, to give them proofs of his gratitude and affection. For Count

Soltikoff he shewed unabated veneration during his life, and in 1818 followed his corpse, on foot and bareheaded, to the grave. Of his regard for Colonel Laharpe many instances are recorded, of which the following may find a place here.

His attachment to Laharpe was rather filial than that of a pupil; his greatest delight was in his society, and he would cling round his neck in the most affectionate embraces, by which frequently his clothes were covered with powder. "See, my dear prince," Laharpe would say, "what a figure you have made yourself." "Oh, never mind it," Alexander replied; "no one will blame me for carrying away all I can from my dear preceptor." One day he went to visit Laharpe, as was his custom, alone; the porter was a new servant, and did not know him; he asked his name, and was answered Alexander. The porter then led him into the servants' hall, told him his master was at his studies, and could not be disturbed

for an hour. The servant's homely meal was prepared, and the prince was invited to partake of it, which he did without affectation. When the hour was expired, the porter informed Laharpe that a young man of the name of Alexander had been waiting some time, and wanted to see him. "Shew him in." But what was Laharpe's surprise to see his pupil! He wished to apologize; but Alexander placing his finger on his lips, said, "My dear tutor, do not mention it; an hour to you is worth a day to me; and besides, I have had a hearty breakfast with your servants, which I should have lost, had I been admitted when I came." The poor porter's feelings may be better imagined than described; but Alexander, laughing, said, "I like you the better for it, you are an honest servant, and there are an hundred rubles to convince you that I think so."

When he was at Paris in 1814, he paid a visit to the wife of M. Laharpe. As she remained standing, he said to her, "You are

much altered, madam." "Sire," she repli ed "I, like others, have suffered from circumstances."—"You mistake me; I mean that you do not sit down, as you used to do, by your husband's pupil, and chat familiarly with him."

Madame Laharpe speaking to him of the enthusiasm with which his virtues and affability inspired the Parisians, he answered, "If I possess any qualities that please, to whom do I owe them?—If there had been no Laharpe, there would have been no Alexander."

The liberality of Alexander in relieving distress of every kind is so notorious that it cannot be necessary to dwell upon it here. Even the limits of his vast empire seemed too narrow for his inexhaustible munificence. The wretched of all countries, and of all religions, found in him a father and a friend. The large sums contributed by him to relieve the distresses of those who suffered by the dreadful inundations in Germany and Holland, in the spring of 1825,

are recent proofs of this disposition. But if the affording of pecuniary relief may appear an equivocal proof of humanity in the absolute sovereign of a great empire, let us turn to his behaviour after the dreadful inundation at St. Petersburg, on the 19th November, 1824. That he should attempt to repair the damages caused by it, might be expected from a naturally humane and generous prince; but Alexander was not content with this; he went day by day, alone, and in a boat, to the poorest and most obscure suburbs of the capital; he examined with his own eyes the extent of the damage that had been done; he distributed with his own hands the relief immediately necessary, and was rewarded by seeing the victims of this scourge, the indigent who had lost their little all, prefer the consoling words of their benefactor to the gifts of his munificence, and think themselves indemnified for their losses by the presence of their sovereign.

The following circumstance, which occurred

in 1807, has become well known in England, but still must not be omitted in a sketch which is designed to illustrate Alexander's private character.

The emperor in one of his journeys through Poland being considerably in advance of his attendants, saw several persons assembled on the banks of the little river Wilia, and approaching the spot, found that they had just dragged out of the water a peasant who appeared to be lifeless. He instantly alighted, had the man laid on the side of the bank, and immediately proceeded to strip him, and to rub his temples, wrists, &c. The emperor was thus employed when his suite joined him, whose exertions were immediately added to those of the emperor. Dr. Wylie, his majesty's physician, attempted to bleed the patient, but in vain; and after three hours fruitless attempts to recover him, the doctor declared that it was useless to proceed any further. The emperor, much chagrined and fatigued with the continued exertions, en-

treated Dr. Wylie to persevere, and to make a fresh attempt to bleed him. The doctor, though he had not the slightest hope of being successful, proceeded to obey the positive injunctions of his imperial master, who, with Prince Wolkonsky and Count Lieven (now ambassador at the British court), made a last effort at rubbing, &c. At length, the emperor had the inexpressible satisfaction of seeing the blood make its appearance, while the poor peasant uttered a feeble groan. The emotions of Alexander at this moment could not be described; and in the plenitude of his joy, he exclaimed, "Good God! this is the brightest day of my life;" while tears involuntarily stole down his cheek. Their exertions were now redoubled; the emperor tore his handkerchief, and bound the arm of the patient, nor did he leave him until he was quite recovered. He then had him conveyed to a place where proper care could be taken of him, ordered him a considerable present, and afterwards provided for him and his family.

This fact coming to the knowledge of the Royal Humane Society of London, it was resolved by the board to send a gold medal to the emperor, with a suitable address. Alexander seems to have been much gratified at this tribute, and wrote to the president the following handsome answer:—

"MR. PRESIDENT,

"The Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, his Britannic Majesty's ambassador at my court, has delivered to me the highly flattering marks of the approbation given by your Society to an action which has such feeble claims to notice, in annals destined to preserve the memory of important services rendered to mankind.

"Without, however, considering this action, so natural in itself, as entitling me to the distinction it has procured me; I accept it with pleasure and gratitude, being unwilling to deny myself the satisfaction of belonging to a Society, the object and the labours of which are so

highly interesting to the cause of humanity, and so congenial to the dearest emotions of my own breast.

"I beg you will express from me to your Society, the sincere esteem and interest I bear towards it; and be assured of the sentiments with which

"I am,

"Mr. President,

"Your well-affected,

"ALEXANDER."

If Alexander was himself forward in the practice of humanity, he was ever ready to recompense it in others, of which the following is an instance:—

A young officer of the police, who, at the setting in of the winter, was stationed on the quay of the Neva, to prevent any one from attempting the passage of the river till it was sufficiently frozen, discovered a person on the

ice, who had escaped the notice of the guard, on the opposite side. Apprehensive of his danger, he called to him to return. The other, heedless of his entreaties and his threats, kept advancing, until, suddenly, the ice gave way under his feet, and he sunk. The guard called for assistance; but, perceiving that none of the spectators attempted to succour the unhappy man, he threw off his coat and plunged in, regardless of his own danger, and, by his strength and courage, brought the man to the shore, who, two minutes later, must have lost his life. The Emperor Alexander, who was riding, arrived on the spot at this interesting moment. He addressed the officer in the most flattering terms, and, giving him a ring from his finger, promoted him to a station greatly superior to that which he had before filled.

A taste for the simple beauties of nature is generally considered as a sure indication of an unsophisticated mind, and Alexander possessed this taste in a remarkable degree. In his fre-

quent journies, which extended to most of the countries of the European continent, he never failed to notice any remarkable spot that he happened to meet with; but the simple, the soothing, and the amiable scenes of nature were the most congenial to his soul, and the view from Richmond Hill was, in his opinion, the most lovely that he had ever beheld. It was with this same feeling that he was often heard to say, that "an English country gentleman was, in his opinion, the man above all others, within whose reach heaven has placed the means of making life happy."

Of his love of justice, the following is related:—

It once happened, at the very moment when the emperor had given the word of command, and the guard on the parade was just on the point of paying him the usual military honours, that a fellow approached him in ragged garments, with his hair in disorder, and a look of

wildness, and gave him a slap on the shoulder. The monarch, who was standing at the time with his face to the military front, turned round instantly, and beholding the wretched object before him, started back at the sight; and then enquired, with a look of astonishment, what he wanted? "I have something to say to you, Alexander Pawlowitsch," said the stranger, in the Russian language. "Say on then," said the emperor, with a smile of encouragement, clapping him on the shoulder. A long solemn pause followed; the military guard stood still; and none ventured, either by word or motion, to disturb the emperor in this singular interview. The Grand Duke Constantine alone, whose attention had been excited by this unusual interruption, advanced somewhat nearer to his brother. The stranger then related, that he had been a captain in the Russian service, and had been present at the campaigns, both in Italy and Switzerland; but that he had been persecuted by his commanding officer, and so misrepresented to Suwarrow, that the latter

had turned him out of the army, without money and without friends, in a foreign country. He had afterwards served as a private soldier in the Russian army; and being severely wounded at Zurich (and here he pulled his rags asunder, and shewed several gun-shot wounds), he had closed his campaign in a French prison. He had now begged all the way to Petersburg, to apply to the emperor himself for justice, and to entreat an enquiry into the reason why he had been degraded from his rank in the army. The emperor listened with great patience, and then asked, in a significant tone, "If there was no exaggeration in the story he had told?" "Let me die under the knout," said the officer, "if I shall be found to have uttered one word of falsehood." The emperor then beckoned to his brother, and charged him to conduct the stranger to the palace, while he turned round to the expecting crowd. The commanding officer, who had behaved so harshly, though of a good family, and a prince in rank, was very severely reprimanded; while

the brave warrior, whom he had unjustly persecuted, was reinstated in his former post; and besides, had a considerable present from the emperor.

The affability of Alexander has been much and justly celebrated; for it was not that formal condescension which only seems to bend, but pure unaffected good nature, the genuine offspring of an amiable disposition. No one ever understood better than he did, how to confer a favour in a graceful manner; and to double the value of a gift, by the manner in which it was bestowed.

When he announced to the brave Kutusoff, his elevation to the rank of Prince of Smolensko, for his services during the campaign of 1812, against the French, he sent with his letter a most valuable jewel, taken from the imperial crown, as a tribute to the valour of a man, by whom it had been so ably defended. He directed the vacancy thus occasioned to be

filled up with a small gold plate, on which was inscribed the name of Kutusoff.

Dining one day at St. Denis, with a Polish general, Prince P. Count Langeron was one of the company. About the middle of the entertainment, the emperor said to the latter, "I have paid a second visit to Mont-martre, where I found a parcel addressed to you." "Sire," replied the count, "I have lost nothing." "Oh!" said the emperor, taking a parcel from his pocket, "I am not mistaken—see here." Count Langeron opened it, and found the insignia of one of the Russian orders.

The following are pleasing instances of his equanimity, condescension, and good nature:

A young woman, of German extraction, once waited for the emperor on the stairs, by which he was accustomed to go down to the parade. When the monarch appeared, she met him on the steps with these words: "Please your

majesty, I have something to say to you." "What is it?" asked the emperor, and stood still, with all his attendants. "I have an opportunity of being married, but I have no fortune; if you would graciously please to give me a dowry?" "Ah! my girl," replied the monarch, "were I to give dowries to all the young women in Petersburg, where do you think I should find money." The girl, however, received by his order a present of fifty rubles.

The hackney-coachmen in St. Petersburg do not much like to drive officers, and seldom let them get out without their having paid them before hand, or leaving something in pledge. They do not object to letting other persons get out whenever they choose, and will even wait hours for them. Alexander, who was generally dressed in a very plain uniform and a grey mantle, was walking one day on the English quay, when suddenly it began to rain very fast, and he would not step into a house. He accordingly seated himself in the first *Droschke*

he found, and ordered the coachman to drive to the Winter Palace. As he passed by the Senate House, the guard was called under arms, and the drums beat. The coachman looked, and said he supposed the emperor was riding by the Guard House. "You will see him very soon," replied Alexander.

They at last arrived at the Winter Palace, and Alexander, who had no money about him, ordered him to stop till he sent his fare down. "No," replied he, "you must leave me something in pledge; the officers have so many times deceived me. So you must leave me your mantle." Alexander acquiesced, and left it with him. He directly sent down one of his footmen with five and twenty rubles, to give them to the coachman, to say that he had driven the emperor, and to bring him the mantle. The footman did so; when instead of the coachman's being glad at the honour and the present, he laughed, and said: "Do you think that I am so stupid? the mantle is

worth more than twenty-five rubles; who knows what you mean? perhaps you want to steal it; no that w'ont do, and unless the gentleman, whom I have driven comes himself, I shall not part with it." Alexander had almost been obliged to go down himself, had not his chief coachman happened to come by, who confirmed what the footman had said. The poor coachman was now almost out of his wits for joy.

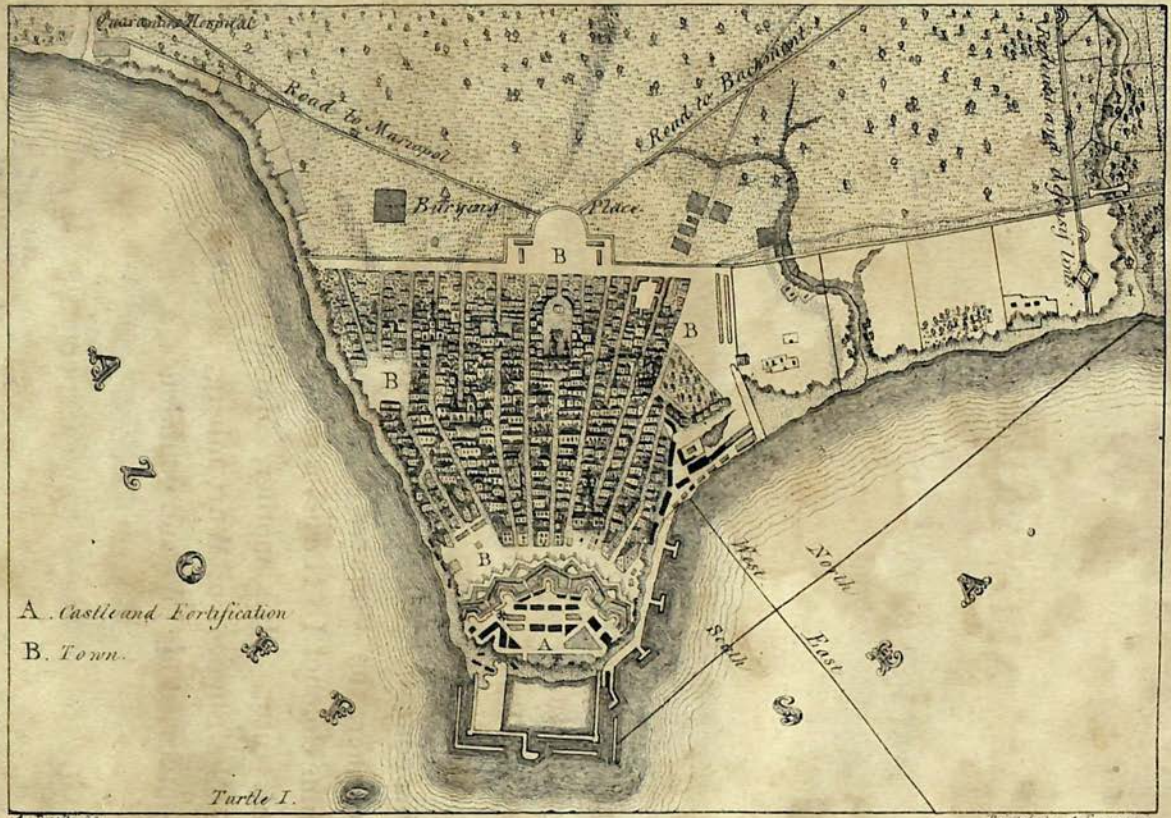
The High Chamberlain N** received of the Emperor Alexander a most beautiful star of the order of St. Andrew, set round with diamonds, which was valued at 30,000 rubles. Being in pecuniary distress, he pawned it; soon after this there was a grand entertainment at court, where N** could not appear without this star. What embarrassment! money was wanted, and the pawnbroker, an inexorable man, would not part with the star for a quarter of an hour, unless it were properly redeemed. Now there was nobody that could help him out of this dilemma, but the emperor's groom of the bed-

chamber, who had in his possession two beautiful diamond stars, belonging to the emperor, one of which was but lately finished, and had cost 60,000 rubles. The high chamberlain accordingly had recourse to him, and after many protestations, the gentleman was persuaded by incessant entreaty, and promises of returning it safe to him again after the entertainment, to entrust it to him. N** accordingly made his appearance at court with this star. Alexander soon perceived in the four large diamonds at the corners of the star, a great likeness with his own new star. He fixed his eyes several times on N**, and at last said, "I am very much astonished to find you have a star which has a great likeness with one I have just received from the jeweller." N** quite embarrassed, replied only by unmeaning compliments and bows. The emperor, more and more struck with the great resemblance, at last said to him, "I do not know what to say, but I must tell you plainly, that I almost believe that it is my star, the likeness is so very remarkable." N**

at last humbly confessed how it happened, and offered to undergo any punishment, but only begged that he would have mercy upon the poor gentleman of the bed-chamber, who had suffered himself to be persuaded. "Never mind," replied the generous Alexander, "the crime is not so great that I cannot forgive it. But I cannot myself wear it any more. I must therefore make you a present of it, on condition that I shall in future be safe from such appropriations."

These few traits of the private character of Alexander will suffice to corroborate the assertion we made at the beginning of this introduction, that, as a private individual he would have been one of the most virtuous and amiable of men.

"No farther seek his merits to disclose,
Nor draw his frailties from their dread abode
(There they alike in trembling hope repose,)
The bosom of his father and his God."



VIEW of TAGANROG.

ALEXANDER I.

EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

CHAPTER I.

ALEXANDER I. PAWLOWITSCH,[1] born the 23d of December, 1777, Emperor and Autocrat[2] of all the Russias,[3] succeeded his father, Paul I. 24th March, 1801. His father took no part in his education, which was directed by his grandmother, the Empress Catherine II. who gave him Colonel La Harpe, a native of Geneva, for his tutor. His mother, Maria, daughter of Duke Eugene, of Wurtemberg, has invariably possessed his love and confidence.

La Harpe was in some respects the same to

Alexander, that Le Fort, likewise a Genevois, had been to Peter the Great, a hundred years before. He brought him up, without political or religious prejudices, in the wiser principles of an enlightened age. Mildness and philanthropy ennobled the heart of the Northern Telemachus. His chief tutor, Count Nicholas Soltikow, received directions from Catherine, according to which the young grand duke was to receive no lessons in poetry or music, because too much time must be spent on them to acquire any proficiency. Professor Kraft instructed the prince in experimental philosophy, and Professor Pallas, for a short time, in botany.

On the 9th of October, 1793, at the early age of not quite sixteen, he married the Princess Louisa Maria Augusta, of Baden, who, on adopting the Greek religion, as required of foreign princesses marrying into the Imperial family of Russia, received the name of Elizabeth Alexiewna, by whom he has left no issue.

The prince, from his tender years, had manifested all the germs of those virtues and great qualities by which he has been so eminently distinguished. Though he was supposed by many persons not to be gifted with very superior abilities, there can be little doubt that, in the latter part of the life of the Emperor Paul, the people looked forward with hope, and perhaps with impatience, to the reign of his successor; and the consciousness of this fact, probably encouraged those who had formed the plan of dethroning Paul, and proclaiming the Grand Duke Alexander. It appears, indeed, that ever since September, 1800, several of the favorites of Catharine, whom Paul, at the beginning of his government, had banished and treated with severity, but had afterwards, by various means, contrived to gain his favor, had been plotting against him. Of all the difficulties that stood in the way of the execution of this project, the greatest was the aversion of the young prince, to sanction any attempt against his father's authority. They endea-

voured, therefore, to make the emperor more suspicious and more violent; by artful insinuations they at length induced Paul to look upon his sons as enemies and traitors; and it is nearly certain that it was determined to send the Grand Dukes Alexander and Constantine to some fortress. The conspirators took advantage of this circumstance, painted the greatness of their personal danger, and, at length, an undertaking, founded on the law of self-preservation, appeared to both of them to be necessary. The plan was to arrest the emperor, and declare him insane, and for Alexander to assume the government, but with the express assurance that he would resign all his rights and powers to his beloved father, as soon as it should please Divine Providence to restore him to health and reason. Count Pahlen, general of cavalry, had drawn up the ukases, and stationed troops where they might be necessary; yet entire confidence was not placed in him, and Valerius Subow, master-general of the ordnance, one of the twenty-one conspirators, remained

constantly with him, on the evening of the 23d of March. The remaining twenty, at the head of whom was Prince Plato Subow, the last favorite of Catherine II. penetrated, by a private staircase, at eleven o'clock at night, into the Michailow palace. The hussar on duty, would not admit them, and cried out "treason!" but he was immediately cut down. Paul, awakened by the noise, ran towards the door at which the conspirators were attempting to enter. When he saw the danger, he hastily took up his sword, and asked Prince Subow what he wanted. The prince replied, that Paul Petrowitsch was a madman, and incapable of governing. Paul rushed upon the prince, sword in hand; but the unfortunate monarch was soon overpowered and thrown on the ground; and, to put an end to his cries, Prince Subow and his brother Nicholas, Benningsen, and Tschitscherin, strangled him with the sash of Amalgarof, his aid-de-camp.

The two grand dukes, when they were in-

formed of the death of their father, were beside themselves with horror. Alexander refused a crown, of which his father had been so cruelly deprived. But they persuaded him that urgent necessity, together with the fury of his father, had produced this unhappy result: they represented to him, that he owed himself to the state; and he accordingly assumed the government on the 24th of March, 1801.

Such, according to accounts published in Germany, was the unhappy termination of the life of the Emperor Paul I. That the precise truth will ever be known is highly improbable; but the great interest of the subject induces us to subjoin the following more circumstantial statement, which agrees in some leading particulars with the preceding, though it differs in others.

When Paul I. succeeded Catherine II. the first thought of all those who were acquainted with the Russian empire, and the personal qualities

of the new czar, was, that that monarch would not long retain the reins of government. Naturally of an impetuous temper, which might have been checked by a more careful education, Paul had suffered under the severe guardianship of a suspicious mother: he fancied his wife entertained designs similar to those which Catherine II. had carried into effect. He had continually before his eyes the dangers to which he imagined himself exposed by the general affection of the people for Maria Fedeorowna. He looked upon his children only as successors, ready to dispute the throne with him. When he peaceably ascended the throne which his mother constantly refused to give up to him, Paul had at first no other partisans than the very small number of persons discontented with the late government. However, some wise ordinances, reiterated proofs of great regard for justice, reasonable views, a conduct generally deserving of praise, and some traits which seemed to indicate a noble and elevated soul, soon acquired the new emperor the attachment of the Russians

and the esteem of foreign nations. But this prince, who under the sway of a mother, jealous of her authority, had borne the yoke with impatience, as soon as he felt himself at liberty to indulge his own inclinations, which had hitherto been restrained, suffered them to take a wrong direction. Absolute power was in his hands only the faculty of giving way to the extravagances of his caprices, which he displayed in an affected contempt for all the ordinary usages of society.

All hopes of bringing the emperor to more reasonable sentiments, had long been given up. Count Pahlen, who shared with him the exercise of unlimited power, had an opportunity to be convinced of the necessity of opposing a barrier to the extravagances of a will which manifested itself by acts of violence.

This nobleman, who was at the head of the foreign department of the police and of the government of St. Petersburg, took at length

the resolution of conferring with the Grand Duke Alexander on the means of preventing the fatal consequences, which seemed inevitable. He explained to this prince all the misfortunes, both at home and abroad, which might ensue from such a state of affairs. He warned him to think of a change, the dangers of which would be completely met by the means that could be commanded.

Count Pahlen being acquainted, in consequence of the offices which he held, with all that was passing, was able to act immediately, and proposed to do so without delay. The grand duke is said to have replied to these first overtures, that he could not deny the impropriety of the emperor's conduct, but that he was his father, and that he, as his son, could never resolve to deprive him of his supreme power, whatever evil might result from his continuing to exercise it.

Some months after this, the disorder in the

government constantly increasing, Count Pahlen again spoke to the grand duke. It seems that he found the prince less averse on this occasion than on the preceding, to the ideas which he submitted to his consideration; but still disinclined, out of respect to his father, to every attempt which might affect the power of the sovereign.

However, more than twenty-six persons having disappeared in the beginning of 1801, Count Pahlen repeated his proposals more urgently. The grand duke, pressed by these circumstances, at last consented, though with regret, and after having received a formal promise, that the life of the emperor should be saved, and that they would be satisfied with making him prisoner, obtaining from him an act of abdication, and conveying him under a strong escort, to the citadel of St. Petersburg.

An unforeseen event hastened the execution of the project. Count Pahlen was informed

that Paul, who, for some time past appeared to have conceived suspicions, had, contrary to his custom, signed a passport himself, which was properly the business of Count Pahlen only. He caused the bearer of it to be arrested, as if by mistake, and probably made himself acquainted with the despatches. It was afterwards known, that the object of these, was to recal to St. Petersburg two persons whom the emperor had been obliged to banish, on account of the cruelty which they had shown in the execution of his orders.

According to all appearances, these two individuals, named Lindner and Araktchew, the first, military governor of St. Petersburg, and the other, governor of a fortress, were to be reinstated in their functions. The emperor intended to employ them to remove his family; to put into prison the empress and her two sons; and to get rid of all those of whom he had conceived any suspicions.

Count Pahlen, with the passport taken from the courier, waited upon Paul, and represented to him, that some persons had doubtless attempted to take him by surprise, in laying before him for his signature, a paper, which it was his office exclusively to deliver on his own responsibility.

The emperor, embarrassed, answered that he had reasons for signing the passport. "Then I will immediately return it to the courier," replied Count Pahlen. It may be easily imagined that Pahlen, at the same time that he obeyed his master's orders, felt more than ever the necessity of anticipating him, by a prompt execution of the measures proposed.

"You recollect what happened in 1762?" said the emperor to his minister a few days before.—"Yes, sire, I was then sergeant in the guards."—"Count Pahlen, I am not disinclined to believe, that certain persons would be disposed to renew the scenes that then took

place"—"It is possible, sire", said Pahlen, "that some persons may have conceived such a design, but it would not be so easy to execute it now, as it was then; the army was not then, as at present in the hands of the prince; the police was not so vigilant; lastly, your father had not been crowned, as you have." The emperor seemed to assent to these observations, and thus finished a conversation, in which Pahlen shewed presence of mind, composure, and boldness.

The emperor's suspicions increased every day. One evening he repeated several times, apparently in a very bad humour, to Madame de Gagarin, in whose house he was: "I see it is time to strike my great blow." He spoke in the same manner to his master of the horse, Kutwjsow, adding, "After that, we shall live like two brothers." This great blow was, to imprison the empress at Kolmagon, a frightful abode, eighty wersts from Archangel, where the unfortunate family of Ulrick of Brunswick had been confined for many years. Schlüsselburg

was to be the prison of the Grand Duke Alexander; the fortress of St. Petersburg was destined for Prince Constantine; Pahlen and several others were to have perished on the scaffold.

Madame de Gagarin, struck with the sinister tone of the emperor, had the simplicity to say—"I can't imagine what he means by the great blow he intends to strike." These various expressions were reported to Count Pahlen, who informed the grand duke of them.

The prince, pressed by the danger, agreed to every thing, with the only condition, that the life of his father should be saved. In spite of the difficulty of giving positive assurances on this subject, Pahlen, however, promised at all events, the life of Paul should not be threatened. The project was to be carried into execution on the 22nd of March; but the Grand Duke insisted that it should be deferred till the next day, because, on that day the guard of the palace

was to be confided to the battalion of Semonowski, which the Grand Duke Constantine commanded in person, and which was devoted to him. Pahlen yielded to the desire of the prince.

The palace of Michailow, built by Paul on the site of the old summer palace, is a massy edifice, in a bad style, and surrounded with bastions. It was in vain that the emperor daily added to the fortifications, to secure himself against the revenge of those whom he had offended. Pahlen, as well as the other leaders of the conspiracy, was acquainted with every part of it. Some hours before the execution of the plot, Count Pahlen augmented the number of the conspirators by adding to them some young men of family, who, on that day, had been degraded, and beaten in a most cruel manner, for faults which scarcely merited a reprimand. Pahlen himself released them from prison, and took them to supper at General Talizin's, colonel of the Presbaschewskoi regi-

ment of guards, who, as well as General Depreradowitsch, colonel of the Semonowski regiment, had drawn into the conspiracy almost all the officers; they did not yet venture to confide in the soldiers, but they reckoned upon their obedience.

Plato Subow, the last favorite of Catherine II. and General Benningsen were present at this entertainment. They placed themselves at the head of one part of the conspirators, and Pahlen commanded the other; the two troops together amounted to about sixty persons, most of whom were inflamed with wine. Subow and Benningsen were preceded by the aid-de-camp Arkamakow, who daily made reports to the emperor. This officer conducted them by a staircase, which led directly to an anti-chamber, where two hussars of the Imperial Guard, and two valets slept. In passing through the gallery to which this door opened they were stopped by a sentinel, who cried, "Who goes there?" Benningsen replied, "Silence! you see

where we are going." The soldier understanding what was going forward, knit his brows, crying, "Patrol, pass!" in order that if the emperor had heard the noise, he might believe that it was made by the patrol. After this, Arkamakow advanced rapidly and knocked softly at the valet de chambre's door; the latter, without opening, demanded his business.—"I come to make my report."—"Are you mad? it is midnight."—"What do you say? it is six o'clock in the morning: open the door quick, or you will make the emperor very angry with me." The valet at last opened the door, but seeing seven or eight persons enter the chamber, sword in hand, he ran to hide himself in a corner. One of the hussars, who had more courage, attempted to resist, but was immediately cut down with a sabre; the other disappeared.

In this manner Benningsen and Subow penetrated to the emperor's chamber. Subow, not seeing the prince in his bed, cried, "Good God! he has escaped." Benningsen more composed,

having made a careful search, discovered the emperor behind a screen. Having approached the prince, he saluted him with his sword, and announced to him that he was a prisoner, by order of the Emperor Alexander; that his life would be respected, but that it was requisite for his safety, that he should make no resistance. Paul made no answer. By the glimmering of a night-lamp, the confusion and terror which were painted at the same time in his countenance, were easily perceived. Benningsen, without loss of time, examined the whole room; one door led to the apartments of the empress: a second, which was that of the wardrobe, afforded no farther issue: two others belonged to recesses, which contained the colours of the regiments of the garrison, as also a great number of swords belonging to officers, who were put under arrest. While Benningsen was shutting these doors, and putting the keys into his pocket; Subow repeated in Russian to the emperor, "Sire, you are a prisoner by order of the Emperor Alexander."—"How! a prisoner!"

replied the Emperor. A moment afterwards, he added, "What have I done to you?"—"For these four years past you have tortured us," replied one of the conspirators.

The prince was in his night-cap; he had only thrown over him a flannel jacket, he was standing without shoes or stockings before the conspirators, who had their hats on, and their swords in their hands.

If Paul had retained his presence of mind, he might have escaped, either by means of a trap door which opened under his bed, or by the apartments of the empress; but fear had entirely disconcerted him, and at the first noise, he had thrown himself under the bed without taking any resolution; perhaps he did not venture to take refuge in the apartments of the empress, thinking that a conspiracy against him could not have been contrived without the consent and encouragement of a princess, whom

he knew to be beloved by the people, as much as he was disliked.

At the moment when they were securing the emperor, some noise being heard, Subow hastened to the Grand Duke Alexander. The apartments of this prince were under those of his father. He had with him only his brother Constantine and the two grand duchesses, their wives; Constantine had not been initiated in the secret till the same evening; though he did not love the emperor, it was feared that he might be guilty of some indiscretion. These four persons waited with the greatest anxiety for the issue of the affair: the arrival of Subow did not a little contribute to augment their uneasiness. Meantime Benningsen, who had remained in the emperor's chamber, with a small number of the conspirators, was greatly embarrassed; he would have been more so, if Paul had taken his sword to defend himself; but this unfortunate prince did not utter a single word, and remained motionless.

The emperor was found in this state of stupor by some of the conspirators, who, in their intoxication, had missed their way, and tumultuously entered the chamber.

Prince Tatchwill, major-general of artillery, who had been for some time out of service, first entered at the head of his companions; he furiously attacked the emperor, and throwing him on the ground, overturned at the same time the screen and the lamp: the rest of the scene passed in darkness. Benningsen thinking that Paul wished to fly, or defend, himself, cried: "For God's sake, sire, do not attempt to escape, your life is at stake; you will be killed if you make the least resistance." During this time Prince Tatchwill, Gardanow, adjutant of the horse guards, Sartarinow, colonel of artillery, who had been long discharged from active service; Prince Wereinskoï and Seriatin, officer of the guards, also out of active service, were contending with the emperor: he at first succeeded in rising from the ground, but he was

thrown down again, and wounded his side and his cheek, by falling against a marble table. General Benningsen was the only one who avoided taking an active part; he repeatedly urged Paul not to defend himself. He had scarcely had time to leave the chamber a moment to fetch a light, when on his return he perceived Paul lying on the ground, strangled with an officer's sash. Paul had made but a slight resistance, he had only put his hand between his neck and the sash, and exclaimed in French, "Gentlemen, for Heaven's sake, spare me! leave me time to pray to God." These were his last words.

Benningsen seeing that Paul shewed no signs of life, caused the corpse to be laid upon a bed, and his head covered. Malkow, captain of the guard, having entered with thirty men, received orders to secure all the avenues leading to the chamber of the late emperor, and not to permit any person to enter. After these measures had been taken, Benningsen hastened to inform the

grand duke at what price he ascended the throne. That Prince indulged in all the expressions of the most profound affliction. When Pahlen, who had been commissioned to guard the grand staircase, and to cut off the retreat of Paul in case of need, learnt that the Prince had already perished, he repaired to the new emperor. He arrived at the moment when the latter, was exclaiming, quite beside himself, "People will say that I am the assassin of my father; they promised me not touch his life. I am the most unfortunate man in the world." Pahlen, more intent to secure the throne to the living emperor, than to shed tears for him who was dead, said to Alexander, "Sire, before all things, please to recollect that an emperor cannot take possession of the authority, without the participation of the people. One moment of weakness may have the most fatal consequences; you must not lose an instant in getting yourself acknowledged by the army."—"And what will become of my mother."—"Sire," replied Pahlen. "I will immediately go to her majesty." In fact he immediately proceeded to the apart-

ments of the empress. He requested the Countess of Lieven, one of the principal ladies of her majesty's household, to acquaint her with what had just happened. It is a remarkable fact that the scenes of horror which had taken place so near the apartments of that princess, had not interrupted her sleep. Waked by the Countess of Lieven, she thought at first that the countess came to prepare her for the news of the death of her daughter, the Princess Palatine of Hungary. "No, Madam," replied the countess, "your majesty must survive a greater misfortune; the emperor has just died in a fit of apoplexy."—"No, no," exclaimed the empress, "he has been assassinated."—"I must then confess it to you," replied the countess. The empress then hastily dressed herself and rushed towards the chamber of Paul. In the saloon between her apartments and those of the emperor, she found Pettarozkoi, the lieutenant of the guards of Semonowski, who commanded the thirty men, whom General Dreperadowitsch had stationed there.

Pettarozkoi declared to the empress that she could not go any further. The princess insisted, asking if he did not know her, and from whom he had his orders? The officer replied, that he had the honor to know her majesty, and that his orders had been given him by his colonel. Nevertheless, the empress attempted to advance, in spite of the guards, who crossed their bayonets to prevent her. The princess, at length, turning to Pettarozkoi, gave him a box on the ear, and sunk down fainting into an arm-chair.

The two grand duchesses, Maria and Catherine, had followed their mother, whom they in vain attempted to calm. The empress asking for a glass of water, a soldier snatched it from the hands of the person who had brought it, and turning to the empress, presented it to her, after drinking a few drops of it, saying, "You may drink without apprehension; there is no poison in it."

At length the empress returned to her apartments. Pahlen went there to conduct her to her son. Though she had scarcely had time to recover herself; she had sufficient strength to assert her rights: and, pretended that, by virtue of her coronation, she was reigning empress; and that, as such, the oath of allegiance ought to be taken to her. The emperor had already lost much precious time in waiting for his mother, and finding her thus disposed, he turned to Pahlen and said, "Here is a new embarrassment, which we did not expect." Pahlen, not suffering himself to be stopped by any consideration, obliged the emperor to set out immediately. The same carriage which was prepared to convey Paul to the fortress, served to take Alexander from the Michailow palace to the winter palace, where he was to receive the oath of allegiance from the great officers of the empire. Pahlen and Subow got up behind the carriage; the battalions of the guards following. Benningsen remained with the empress mother,

in order to persuade her to renounce the ideas which occupied her thoughts. It was not without difficulty that Maria Fedeorowna was induced to renounce her pretensions; and such are the charms of supreme authority, that in the midst of this night of horror they had sufficient ascendency to make a mild and virtuous woman forget the dangers of power, the terrible death of a husband, the sentiments of a mother, the counsels of prudence and reason.

At length the empress was induced to take the oath to the emperor, her son. From that moment, every thing went on as if Paul had died a natural death.

Messrs. Vette, surgeon, and Stoff, physician, opened the body of Paul; and described, in the technical language of their art, the causes which had occasioned the death of the emperor; he was embalmed, and lay in state for a fortnight, and then deposited in the vault of his ancestors, with all the accustomed pomp.

It was observed that whenever the usual ceremonies obliged Alexander to approach the remains of his father, the expression of grief was evident in all his features.

As for the assassins of Paul, they were all removed to a distance; several of them were sent to the regiments in Siberia. Count Pahlen himself was obliged to quit St. Petersburg; and the following is the occasion which served as a pretext for removing him.

A short time after the death of Paul, a priest pretended to have received, in a miraculous manner, an image, under which these words were written, "God will punish all the assassins of Paul I." Count Pahlen, being informed of the impression which this imposture produced, complained of it to the Emperor Alexander, who gave him permission to put an end to the intrigues of the priest. The count ordered him to be scourged. The pretended visionary, confessing his cheat, declared that

he had only acted by order of the empress dowager, who possessed a similar image. Count Pahlen caused it to be removed by force from the chapel of that princess. Incensed at the violence of this proceeding, she demanded satisfaction from the emperor, her son. M. de Becklechew received orders from the emperor to intimate to Count Pahlen that he was to leave St. Petersburg in a private manner. Pahlen immediately resigned all his offices; the emperor, when he was informed of it, merely said, "It is an excellent plan that Count Pahlen has adopted; but, that the sacrifice may be complete, his departure must be speedy." Two hours after, he was on the way to Riga

CHAPTER II.

ALEXANDER having thus assumed the government, issued a proclamation, in which he says—"On ascending the Imperial throne, we take upon us, at the same time, the obligation, to govern the people confided to us by God, according to the laws, and in the spirit of our grandmother of glorious memory, the Empress Catherine II. that, according to her wise plans, we may raise Russia to the highest pitch of glory, and secure the permanent welfare of our subjects." No mention was made of his father's government. As Alexander's handsome person, and the expression of moral goodness in his pleasing countenance, had already acquired him the love of the people, he soon confirmed it, by the beneficial tendency of his new institutions, and particularly by revoking numerous absurd and

vexatious ordinances issued by the late emperor; and the prudence and firmness which were manifested by the youthful sovereign, excited throughout Europe the most joyful hopes.

His first and great wish was to preserve peace in his empire, and, if possible, to give it to the belligerent powers. The manner in which he proceeded was equitable, without weakness; suitable to his dignity, without haughtiness. Immediately after his accession, he sent a letter to the King of England, in which he openly expressed his wish to arrange the existing differences by amicable negociation. On the 26th of March, he gave orders to set at liberty the captains and crews of English ships, who had been sent into the interior of the empire, and revoked the prohibition of exportation: and, in order to put an end to the shedding of blood, he caused his pacific dispositions to be signified to Admiral Parker (then commanding the English fleet in the Baltic, which had just been employed in the attack on Copenhagen), and made him respon-

sible for any act of hostility. But he did not renounce the convention of neutrality which had been concluded with the other northern powers, or endeavour to obtain separate advantages for himself. These moderate and pacific dispositions gave great pleasure at Berlin, where the war with England had by no means been wished for; but, of course, they were not much relished at Paris. Alexander, however, had sent a letter to Buonaparte, which shewed, at least, that France had no reason to apprehend hostilities. Ambassadors were therefore sent, both from London and Paris, to St. Petersburg, to carry the usual congratulations of their governments, and to answer the expression of the emperor's pacific intentions. Lord St. Helens and General Duroc were equally well received at St. Petersburg.

The consequences of the negociation soon appeared. As Russia had been the first to commence hostilities, and to lay an embargo on the English ships and property in its ports, it seemed reasonable it should be the first to

take off the embargo, which was accordingly done on the 18th of May; and, as soon as the news reached London, orders were given, on the 4th of June, to take off the embargo laid upon Russian and Danish ships. The strongest proof of his wish for peace was given by Alexander, in the rapidity with which a new maritime convention between Russia and England was concluded at St. Petersburg, on the 17th of June, in which the principal points in dispute between the two powers were given up by Russia, to the no little surprise of the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen; the latter of which was reasonably dissatisfied, that those principles had been abandoned, in the maintenance of which the blood and property of its subjects had been so generously sacrificed in the contest with England, and that it was forsaken by the very power, whose threatening superiority had compelled it unconditionally to accede to the St. Petersburg convention of the 16th of December, 1800.

About the same time a treaty of alliance, commerce, and navigation, was published, which had been concluded between Sweden and Russia, during the life of Paul, but was not ratified till some time after his death.

Preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris, on the 1st of October, between England and France; and, on the 8th of the same month, a treaty of peace was concluded between France and Russia. By an article in the treaty between France and Turkey, the independence of the republic of the seven Ionian islands was recognised, and their constitution guaranteed by France and Russia.

The peace of Europe being restored, at least for a time, Alexander was at leisure to attend to the internal affairs of his vast empire; and while the philanthropist looked with sorrow at the despotism exercised by the French government in the conquered states, and at the rigour

with which every thing in the French empire itself was modelled, according to the austere forms of a military system, he turned with pleasure to contemplate the humane, mild, and beneficent government of Russia, and a cheerful presentiment of happier times rose in the mind, when it saw what Alexander had done in the first few months of his reign. He abolished what was called the Chancery of the Secret Inquisition, which Catherine the Second had retained since 1762, under the milder name of the Secret Department; he established (11th April) a permanent council for the previous examination of all ordinances that were to be issued, on the affairs of the empire; he placed the Directing Senate, erected by Peter the Great, as a moral mediator between the people and the sovereign. It may be said, with truth, that during the whole course of his reign, Alexander constantly acted in the spirit of these three ordinances. The arbitrary decisions of cabinet orders was no longer law for the subject; mature deliberation preceded

every resolution; and it was not a vain form of words, when the emperor, in his manifesto upon his coronation at Moscow, on the 27th of September, declared, that since his accession to the throne, he had been fully sensible of the duty of making his people happy, and that their welfare was the sole object of his wishes. He restored the commercial relations which had been suspended, recalled a number of exiles from Siberia, allowed the free importation of books, made the censorship less strict, exempted the clergy from corporal punishment, restored to the nobility and the citizens their ancient rights, gave the farmers permission to cut wood in the forests, encouraged trade and manufactures, and endeavoured to improve the condition of the vassals.

Nor were his benevolent exertions confined to the internal affairs of his own empire; he exerted his power abroad to make peace, to assert the freedom of the seas, and the independence of weaker nations against the ambi-

tion of the strong. On the 26th April, Mr. Von Kalitschef, his minister at Paris, presented a note to the government, in which he declared that harmony could not exist between the two states, unless the Kings of Naples and of Sardinia were restored to the possession of their dominions, and also the three articles fulfilled: (these were supposed to be the preservation of the temporal power of the Pope; the indemnification of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in Italy, and not in Germany; and that the arrangements to be made in the German empire, according to the treaty of Luneville, should not take place without the concurrence of Russia). The emperor first appointed for his chief ministers, Count Panin and Prince Kurakin; the latter was at the head of the foreign department, and when Count Panin resigned in September, he was succeeded by Count Kotschubei.

Under the reign of Paul, Georgia had been occupied by Russian troops, with a view to incorporate it with the Russian empire. The

ukase to this effect was dated 28th January, 1801. So far back as 1783 the Czar Heraclius, who had been celebrated by his wars, had exchanged the protection of Persia and Turkey for that of Russia, and from that time attacks from abroad, and quarrels between the pretenders to the crown at home, had frequently led the inhabitants to wish to give themselves up entirely to the Russians. Alexander examined first, whether it would not be possible to restore the former government, under the protection of Russia, and to maintain tranquillity and security; but as no means could be found to check the revenge of the pretenders to the crown, if the government was left to them, Alexander agreed to the union of the country with Russia. "But," said Alexander, "not for the aggrandizement of our power, not with interested views, but merely to establish justice, and the security persons and property. All the taxes paid by your country shall be employed for your own advantage, and in the re-establishment of the ruined towns and villages: your happiness and

welfare will be the most agreeable, and the only reward for us.—September 24th."

The first half of 1802, was occupied with the negociations respecting the indemnifications in Germany. The question was in fact decided in Paris; for, though the diet at Ratisbon had chosen a deputation to arrange the plan, this deputation did nothing. Almost all the German states sent ambassadors to Paris, and left no means untried to gain the favour of the French government. Under these circumstances, it was probably fortunate for Germany, that the Emperor of Russia took part in the negociations, and the interview between him and the King of Prussia, in the beginning of June, was not without importance. If no political plans were agreed upon, yet the amicable meeting of the two sovereigns could hardly fail to have an influence on political interests. Prussia obtained the assent of Russia to its own plans, and secured itself against the preponderating influence of France. On the 4th June the whole

plan for the indemnification was laid before M. Markof, Russian ambassador at Paris, and a separate convention concluded with him on the subject, which the Emperor Alexander ratified on the 16th July, but with the reservation of a complete indemnification for the King of Sardinia, as well as for the House of Holstein Oldenburg, for the abolition of the toll on the Weser at Elsfleth.

As Alexander, without interested views, exerted the influence of his power to give internal peace to Germany and to protect the weaker princes of Italy, he persevered in the zealous prosecution of measures to promote the welfare and the improvement of his own subjects, and promised to give a new impulse to the arts and sciences throughout his vast empire. In order to introduce generally, a rational administration of justice, the Committee of Legislation, established under Catherine, was revived. To give a check to the arbitrary conduct, which had hitherto been too common

in the governors general of the provinces, they were strictly enjoined not to interfere in the course of judicial proceedings. The right of possessing landed property was extended to all Russian subjects, and thereby a suitable beginning made towards the abolition of the vassalage of the peasants. It may easily be presumed that the care of the poor was not one of the last objects of the government. On the other hand the emperor endeavoured to introduce all possible economy into his own household; he abolished many offices about the court, but provided for those who had held them. Constant attention was paid to navigation and commerce, canals were dug, roads improved, &c. The commerce with England was very active, and an act of justice, in giving the English an indemnity of 700,000 rbls. for the loss sustained by the embargo, was undoubtedly advantageous in its consequences to his own subjects. Particular attention was paid by Alexander to the commerce of the Black Sea. The most fertile provinces of Russia are situated

on its northern shores, and were a principal source of lucrative commerce in ancient times to the Greeks, and in later times to the Genoese. The Russian settlements on the north-west coast of America were not too remote for his notice; and by his favour and support, the Russians undertook, for the first time, a voyage round the world.

Schools for the people were established, gymnasia instituted, universities endowed, valuable collections purchased, and men of learning encouraged. Military schools were founded, for which half a million of rubles annually were assigned. The example of the sovereign was followed by wealthy subjects, the nobility of Pensa subscribed ninety thousand rubles to found a gymnasium for poor nobles, and other provinces followed this example. The censorship was confided to the civil government, in conjunction with the board of direction for the popular schools; the universities were properly exempted from this restriction, but

responsible for what the members wrote; the book trade flourished, and the first book was printed at Tobolsk in Siberia. In order to honour by external distinctions, military valour and civil virtues, Alexander restored the two orders founded by Catherine, but never conferred by Paul,—namely, the order of Saint George for military services, and that of Saint Wladimir for civil merit.

A new creation began throughout the empire, and the whole administration received a new form by two ukases of the 20th September. The chief alterations were, that every branch of the administration had its own separate minister; that two entirely new departments were created, that of the interior and that of popular instruction; that the rights of the senate were secured by law, and the powers of the governors general limited. Each minister was to be answerable for all the acts of his department: they are all under the superintendence of the senate, to which they must

annually give an account, but have, however, a seat and vote in it.

Though Alexander was not fond of war, he felt that it was necessary to be always prepared for it, to check any inclinations in foreign powers to attack him. He therefore introduced a new system for recruiting the army. Two men out of every five hundred souls were to be soldiers, and the army was increased to five hundred thousand men. A small detachment of Russian troops was employed to cover the frontier towards Persia, where a Chan Baba had attacked and repulsed the Russians in Georgia, and another small detachment landed in Corfu.

1803. The war between France and England having recommenced in the spring of this year, in consequence of which the kingdom of Hanover was occupied by the French, and the Elbe and Weser declared in a state of blockade by the English, Alexander again inter-

fered, with the humane desire to restore peace, but without effect. Towards the end of this year, the relations between France and Russia seemed to be rather precarious. Count Markof quitted Paris at the end of November, leaving only the secretary of legation Oubril; even in the French papers a hint was given, that General Hedouville, the French ambassador, would soon quit Petersburg.

Meantime, Alexander continued his wise plans for the improvement of his own dominions. He purchased a large tract of land near his summer residence at Kamenoi-Ostrof, to introduce the English system of farming, by means of English husbandmen, whom he had invited to Russia; Germans and Swiss came to the coasts of the Black Sea, where they obtained grants of land, and pecuniary assistance to establish themselves, and to begin to cultivate the soil; and in a short time vines were planted in the Crimea. Count Sergei Romanzoff had expressed a wish to be allowed to

give to some of his vassals, together with their liberty, some portions of land, so that they might become free cultivators; hitherto there had been no such class in Russia. Alexander created it by a ukase of 4th March, by which he permitted every landed proprietor to transfer to vassals, on giving them their liberty, land to be held by them as free cultivators, either by sale or on other conditions.

As trade increased, manufactures were naturally improved and extended. The ports on the Black Sea, above all Odessa, were visited during this year by numerous Austrian, French, English, and Spanish ships, for the import duties were moderate, and there was great abundance of various productions, particularly corn and timber. A new world seemed to arise in the fine climate from 47° to 48°, in a fruitful soil; and, when we recollect, that before the Christian era, the Greeks found this trade so advantageous, that Miletus founded several colonies on this coast; that in the middle ages, Genoa

became rich by its trade with Kaffa, there appeared reason to entertain still greater hopes, in an age when navigation had attained such a high degree of perfection. A company was established for carrying on the herring fishery in the White Sea, which the emperor took under his especial protection. In the ports of the Baltic, commerce was very flourishing, and the Mercantile Gazette, published at St. Petersburg, sometimes gave interesting accounts of the internal trade of the empire. The Kirghis, who lead a wandering life, have immense numbers of camels, oxen, horses, and sheep, which they exchange with their frontier neighbours, for kettles, knives, &c. In many years they bring from 3 to 400,000 sheep to Orenburg, the skins and fat of which are important articles of commerce for Russia. Large caravans came also from Khiwa and Bucharia, and the trade with China, carried on at Kiachta, on the Chinese frontier, offered a very satisfactory result. The reports of the Rusian American Company were likewise very favourable.

It was particularly with a view to establish the commerce of this Russian American Company in Eastern Asia, and to open a more extensive intercourse with Japan and China, that the first Russian voyage round the world, which we have above-mentioned, was undertaken. The expedition consisted of two ships, under the command of Captain Krusenstern, and had on board Mr. Resanoff, who was to remain in Japan as ambassador from Russia. As it was expected that there would be opportunities for many new discoveries in geography and natural history, several learned Germans were engaged to accompany the expedition. This latter and secondary object was attained to a very great degree, but the main purpose entirely failed, the Japanese government having refused to allow an ambassador to reside in the country. The ships returned home in 1805.

The measures for the instruction of youth, and the promotion of learning and useful knowledge, were continued with unremitting acti-

vity. On the 5th February, a circumstantial ukase was issued, ordering the establishment of schools and universities nearly on the same plan as in France. Half a million of rubles was assigned to defray the expenses in 1803, but this sum has since been doubled. Besides the three existing universities at Moscow, Wilna, and Dorpat, three others were immediately founded at St. Petersburg, Kasan, and Charkow; and, in the sequel, three others at Kiew, Tobolsk, and Ustiny Welike. The Academy of Sciences, at St. Petersburg, received, on the 17th September, a new form, that, in co-operation with the newly founded universities, it might diffuse knowledge through the empire, make the sciences more popular, and, by means of travels, particularly in the interior of Russia, obtain a more complete knowledge of the country. The revenue of the academy was increased from 54,000 rubles to 120,000. The government, likewise, devoted its attention to the care of the poor and the sick, and the exalted philanthropy of the empress mother

was not contented with contributing large sums for the support of foundling hospitals, and establishments for widows and sick persons, she also founded several new ones, and took an immediate part in the superintendence and direction of them.

"Justice and goodness" repeated the French papers, "are the supports of Alexander's throne;" for the French government was very desirous to have the friendship of Russia in the execution of its plans, or at least to make the world believe that Russia was amicably disposed. But Alexander's goodness was not weakness; his justice not without energy. The King of Sweden transgressed the frontier in Finland. There was a bridge joining the island of Hermansari with Klein Abborfors, half of which belonged to Sweden and the other to Russia; and, accordingly, the Swedish half was painted grey, and the Russian of a different colour. The King of Sweden caused the whole to be painted grey; and when, upon

the first note presented by the Russian ambassador at Stockholm, far from repairing the wrong, the Swedish ministers intimated that they had a right to maintain what they had taken—the emperor gave orders to strengthen the fortress of Kymenogorod, on the frontiers of Finland, and to throw up new works on the river Kymene; the galley fleet was armed, and the army received orders to be ready to march to the frontiers of Finland. The King of Sweden yielded, indeed, and all was restored to its former condition. But this little dispute had given the Russian government a welcome opportunity to put the fleet and army into motion; to arm, to complete, and to increase its military establishment. For it became more and more apparent what France threatened; and, though war was probably not yet thought of, it was judged necessary, for the dignity of the empire, to maintain, even in peace, a force, which, in case of need, might support any remonstrances that it would be necessary to make. Buonaparte had promised

an indemnity for the kingdom of Sardinia, but did not keep his word. Alexander had interceded for Hanover. Buonaparte evaded, by flattery or fair promises, and evidently depended on Alexander's love of peace. But it was even now reported, that the cabinet of St. Petersburg differed in many points with that of Berlin; and, at the end of the year, all the journals spoke of great armaments both by sea and land, that were making in Russia. France pretended that all this was intended to maintain an armed neutrality against England. Russia let this pass, that it might, with less impediment, organise its forces.

On the south-east frontiers of the empire, in the newly acquired province of Georgia, the Lesghis, a predatory mountain tribe, made repeated incursions, and even got possession of the fortress of Belakun. Major-General Gulakow defeated them, drove them back over the river Ulasun, and recovered Belakun. They, however, still maintained their ground in the mountainous province of Dshar.

As the rapid increase of the population of Russia is one of the most remarkable circumstances of that empire, it will be interesting to state, from time to time, the official report of the births and deaths.

In the year 1801—	Births . . .	1,179,476
	Deaths . .	726,271
	Increase .	453,205
In the year 1802—	Births . . .	1,304,471
	Deaths . .	688,374
	Increase .	616,097

According to this statement, the number of inhabitants would be about thirty millions. But, as the returns are only of the part of the population belonging to the Greek church, who are estimated at about three-fourths of the whole, the total amount may have been about forty millions of souls, at the beginning of Alexander's reign.

On May 28th, the hundredth anniversary of

the foundation of St. Petersburg, was celebrated with great solemnity and rejoicing, by the Emperor's order.

The inhabitants of the Republic of the Seven Islands recovered the enjoyment of order and tranquillity under the protection of Russia, which probably did not overlook how important these islands might in future become, as a military possession. At the beginning of the year, the nobles were still plundered and even murdered, but the rioters were thrown into prison, Russian troops spread over the islands, and an effectual check put upon the influence of France.

CHAPTER III.

1804.—The events of this year realised, in a great degree, the presentiment that had for some time prevailed, of a breach of the good understanding between Russia and France. The internal changes and events in France, and, above all, the assumption of the Imperial dignity by Buonaparte, were the chief objects of the general attention of Europe; and almost all the important political relations of the states with each other had reference to France. The arrest and murder of the Duke of Enghien excited universal horror and indignation. It might have been expected that the Elector of Baden, that the German empire, would have remonstrated against this violation of neutrality. Alas! they were silent. But posterity will not believe that all sense of justice and humanity

was banished from the hearts of their ancestors; that none of them felt the insult offered to the German name. It was felt, and felt deeply. But this seeming indifference was the unhappy fruit of disunion, mistrust, and heartless despondency. All the German sovereigns held their peace; but the noble Alexander, animated by a lively sense of justice and law, who did not love war, but also did not meanly fear it, when a just cause was to be defended, and insolent preponderance to be averted, made an attempt to rouse the slumbering spirit of the Germans. On the 7th of May, Mr. Von Klüpfel, the Russian minister, presented a note to the diet at Ratisbon, expressing, in the strongest terms, the emperor's sorrow and indignation at this violation of the territory of Germany, which afflicted his imperial majesty the more, as he could by no means expect that a power which, in conjunction with him, had directed the arrangement of the affairs of Germany, and had consequently bound itself to participate in his cares for the welfare and tranquillity of the

German empire, could deviate in such a measure from the sacred principles of the law of nations, and from the obligations which it had so lately taken upon itself.

A note, containing a similar declaration, was presented, on the 12th of May, by Mr. Oubril at Paris. But, notwithstanding the assurance of the powerful support of Russia, the German sovereigns dreaded taking any step which might provoke the resentment of France. It was contrived that the Russian note should not be discussed in the diet at Ratisbon. At length, on the 2d of June, the ambassador of Baden gave verbally a declaration, which had been agreed upon between Talleyrand and the ministers of Austria, Prussia, and Baden, to the effect, that his highness, the Elector of Baden, while he most sincerely respected the pure motives of his majesty the Emperor of Russia, and gratefully acknowledged the interest he took in the welfare of the elector and his family, would be deeply afflicted if the event which had hap-

pened in his country should lead to differences, which might be attended with the most dangerous consequences to the peace of Germany. These considerations, and his confidence in the good intentions of the French government towards the German empire, induced the elector ardently to desire that the communications and proposals made on the subject, in the German diet, might not be carried any further. The Prussian ambassador declared that his king was perfectly satisfied with the explanations given by France, and consequently acceded to the wish of the Elector of Baden. The subject was therefore dropped, without any farther notice of the Russian note, or any satisfactory assurance on the part of France.

The correspondence between Mr. Oubril and Talleyrand at Paris, only tended to widen the breach between the two parties; so that Mr. Oubril, having presented his final answer on the 28th August, left Paris on the 31st of that month, and went to Mayence, where the French

emperor was expected. He here received a courier from his court, had several conferences with Talleyrand, and did not leave Mayence till the 2nd October; yet he still remained near the French frontier, at Frankfort on the Maine, from which city he set out on the 19th October, on his return to Russia. It may be presumed that the causes of this delay, were, on the one hand, that Russia did not desire to act precipitately, and on the other hand, that France took advantage of this disposition to keep Russia as long as possible in suspense, maintaining, in secret communications and official notices, hopes which certainly did not agree with the preceding notes and other statements, which were not indeed official. At the very time that Mr. Oubril left Paris, the *Moniteur* affirmed, that the report of a misunderstanding with Russia was false, only invented by England to alarm Europe. General Hedouville, the French ambassador at St. Petersburg, left that city on the 8th June, and, according to the French papers, the Emperor Alexander had

treated him with the greatest distinction when he had his audience of leave.

Mr. Raineval, who remained at St. Petersburg as chargé d'affaires, presented a note, couched in the most moderate and flattering terms; this note expressed the surprise of the French government at the conduct of Russia in withdrawing its chargé d'affaires from Paris. The French emperor believed that it was the true interest of France to be on good terms with Russia, and his particular inclination had always led him to a confidential intercourse of esteem and friendship with the Russian emperor; from the notions he had formed of the character of Alexander, he never could have thought him inclined to recognise the pretensions of the house of Bourbon, or to tolerate their attempts. No doubt the unhappy change in the sentiments of the Russian court, must be ascribed to evil minded persons, and it was to be lamented, that a friendship which was so sincere should have been impaired. "These," says the note, "are the

constant sentiments of the French emperor, who now, and at all future times, will be inclined to renew the old relations with Russia, and will be happy to see a perfect understanding restored between the two empires, which must be of great advantage to themselves and to the repose of Europe in general." Such was the substance of this note, which was published in German, in a Hamburgh paper. It never was published in French; and the Paris journals endeavoured to discredit it, by declaring that it was not official, nor conformable to the original. All these fine words however availed nothing. Mr. Raineval left St. Petersburg on the 21st September; but Mr. Lesseps remained as commercial agent.

The misunderstanding between France and Russia led to a difference between the Russian cabinet and the Papal court. As the pope, disregarding the representations of the Russian ambassador, and complying only with the demands of the French government, had caused

Count Vernegues to be arrested and delivered up, Alexander recalled Count Kassini from Rome: Monsiegnor Arezzo, the papal nuncio, and his auditor Alvisini were obliged to leave St. Petersburg in June, and on the 10th August the emperor addressed a rescript to the metropolitan of the Romish Church in Russia, Sestrenzewicz, in which he declared to him that all communication with the see of Rome, was broken off, so long as the reasons for the interruption existed, and ordered him to take care that all the Catholics in Russia should enjoy every thing necessary to satisfy their wants, and to that end, to exercise all the rights, privileges, and power, which had been given him by Pope Pius VI.

During the remainder of this year, Russia continued to increase its forces both by sea and land, and the *Moniteur* found plausible ground to cast suspicion upon Russia, in the occupation of the island of Corfu, in the Russian conquests from Persia on the Turkish frontier, and in the

report, which was industriously circulated, that Russia by its secret agents fomented the troubles in European Turkey. The pretended conquests in Persia appear to have been limited to various advantages gained over the Lesghis. With respect to the Ionian islands, there were, in the beginning of August, ten thousand Russian troops distributed through the seven islands, which continued to prosper under the protection of Alexander. The French government endeavoured, but without effect, to excite the jealousy of the Porte against Russia, by insinuating that it intended to take possession of Moldavia and Wallachia, that it had made an alliance with the Greeks in Albania, that the Montenegrius had taken the oath of allegiance to Russia, and that proposals had been made to the rebel Pasha Paswan Oglu, to receive a Russian consul at Widdin.

The misunderstanding between Russia and France excited great joy in London, where it was pretended that an alliance between Eng-

land and Russia was concluded on the 21st May, or certainly on the 31st of July, and this, even an offensive and defensive alliance, to which Sweden would accede, and it was hoped some other continental powers. It appeared, however, that Russia was not inclined to enter into an offensive alliance against France; the negociations however were not interrupted; and, at the end of October, Lord Gower went as ambassador extraordinary from London to Petersburg, and Mr. Novosilsof from Petersburg to London.

Meantime, Russia continued with great activity its armaments both by sea and land. Besides the fleet at Corfu, a squadron of three ships of the line, and two frigates, sailed from Cronstadt in August, and having taken in provisions and water in England, proceeded in November to the Mediterranean. Preparations were also made with great diligence in all the ports, Sebastopol on the Black Sea was declared the first military sea-port, and all mer-

chant ships excluded. The recruiting for the army continued, and the regular and irregular troops amounted together to half a million of men. The armies were chiefly assembled on the western frontiers, in the provinces that had formerly belonged to Poland. Europe looked with impatience to the result of all these measures. These exertions for the security and external dignity of the empire, by no means diverted the attention of Alexander, and his wise ministers, from the internal affairs of his vast dominions. Exertions were made more perfectly to organise the departments of the government, and to simplify them as much as possible. The rights and situation of the peasantry were secured by positive determinations; facilities were afforded to commerce; the public schools were enlarged; and the good spirit which proceeded from the government was communicated to the rich and the great in all the provinces.

The division of the territory, especially in so

great an empire, is a point of considerable importance. Peter the Great divided the empire into eight governments. But as it soon appeared that the divisions were too large, their number was gradually increased to eighteen, without any considerable external addition to the empire. In 1786 Catherine divided the empire into forty-two governments: by the new acquisitions on the Dniester in Poland, and the submission of Courland in 1795 and 96, their number was increased to fifty. This division was not yet entirely completed, when Paul revoked it in 1796, and ordered that the number of governments should be forty-one. Alexander thought proper to re-establish the governments which had been abolished in the preceding reign, so that including Georgia there were fifty-one. The important task of drawing up a code for Russia, upon which the committee of legislation which was abolished, had been employed for so many years, was confided to the president of the academy, Mr. Von Novosilzof.

The situation of the peasants was still farther improved in all the provinces; many nobles gave liberty to their slaves for a moderate sum of money, and many by this means paid their debts, and had something left besides. Complaints of illegal and arbitrary proceedings and cruel oppression of the landowners towards their vassals, were particularly loud in Livonia. Alexander who leaves and gives to every one what is his due, but punishes without respect of persons, all violation of justice and humanity, had ordered a commission to examine into the affairs of the Livonian peasantry. In consequence of the report made by the commissioners, a detailed ordinance for the Livonian peasants was published on the 3rd of March, by which at least their obligations were legally determined.

The prosperity of Odessa rapidly increased, ships of all the European nations came to purchase the produce of this fertile country, nay, even a Tripolitan ship fetched wheat from Odes-

sa, to the coast of Barbary, once the granary of half the world. For the encouragement of trade the duties were reduced twenty-five per cent in all the Russian ports in the Euxine, and the Sea of Asof.

In September, this year, an ukase was issued, entirely prohibiting the importation of all printed calicoes, of all cottons wove in colours, and all printed linens; and, secondly, allowing all cottons and linens for printing on, to be imported by sea only: this measure was to be strictly enforced after the lapse of two months. The principal object of this ukase, was to encourage the national manufactures. The effect of the ukase, for this year, was, that merchants from all parts of the Russian empire, hastened to the Leipzig Michaelmas fair, that they might in the two months, purchase a stock of the English calicoes, which were partly, or entirely prohibited, sufficient to supply their warehouses for many years. Such vast quantities were purchased, that in spite of every exertion, there was soon want of

waggons to carry them. The appearance of a caravan of waggons and kibitkas, was therefore, extremely welcome, which just at this time returned to Leipzig, after having conveyed from St. Petersburg to Weimar, the marriage portion of the Grand-Duchess Maria, sister to the emperor, who was married to his Highness Charles Frederic, hereditary Prince of Saxe Weimar. Eighty waggons, with an hundred and fifty peasants, that were returning empty to Russia, were immediately put in requisition, and the same kibitka which had brought a chest with rich furs, or a gold toilet, for the imperial bride, was loaded on its return with calicos, bleached by the Scotch women on the banks of the Clyde and the Tay.

By the command of the emperor, the minister of commerce, Count Romanzof, published a view of the Russian commerce in the year 1802; whereas, all facts of this nature had hitherto been kept secret. From the general result, it appeared that the total value of the

importations into the ports of the Baltic, was 32,983,418 rubles; the value of the exports was 46,917,134; excess of importation nearly fourteen millions of rubles, to which must be added, four millions of gold and silver, so that the balance of trade in the Baltic, was eighteen millions in favour of Russia. In the White Sea, the imports were 550,000 rubles; the exports, chiefly of corn, 4,796,000.

Indefatigable activity was continued to be bestowed on the improvement of universities and schools, and several learned Germans of acknowledged reputation, were induced to accept of professorships at Wilna and Moscow. On the 16th of May, the emperor visited Dorpat, where there were about one hundred and thirty students. The seeds sown by so many able men in the various provinces of the extensive empire, must produce abundant flowers and fruit in the next generation. But as the seed has been very rapidly forced by all the means of art, it may be apprehended that the

flowers will be of short duration. Let us hope that they will yet produce good and mature fruits.

A new edict, respecting the censorship of the press, proposed by the minister of popular instruction, and approved by the Emperor was more rigorous than might have been expected from the wise tolerance of the Russian government; some additions were however made to it, which afforded a pleasing proof of the personal humanity of Alexander, and form a contrast to the other parts of the edict. "The main object of the censorship, it is said, is to prevent the circulation of writings which are contrary to the advancement of real knowledge, and to moral improvement. Each university establishes a committee of censorship, which examines all books ordered from foreign countries for officers of the university; journals and newspapers, have particular censors; all dramatic pieces must be submitted to the censor, before they are performed. Nothing must be inserted in

any book against religion, the government, good morals, or the personal honour of any citizen." Here was added, by the emperor's desire: "The censors are to use a reasonable indulgence, and refrain from all partial interpretations of the meaning, which might give cause to prohibit the work. In doubtful cases, where a passage is susceptible of a two-fold explanation, it is always better to admit the interpretation favourable to the author. A modest and reasonable discussion of every truth relative to religion, to the civil constitution, or to any branch of the administration, not only claims the mildest exercise of the censorship, but enjoys entire liberty of the press, which promotes the advancement of true knowledge."

CHAPTER IV.

1805.—During the whole of this year, the chief attention of the Russian government was directed to military armaments and foreign relations. But the improvements that had been commenced in the interior were not neglected. The population of Petersburg increased so rapidly, that in the year 1804 above 500 new houses were built. On the 5th of July the emperor himself laid the foundation stone of the new exchange. The influx of foreign settlers, especially from Germany, to the southern provinces of Russia, was so great, that it became necessary to set bounds to it; partly because there were but few crown lands fit for cultivation, remaining to be disposed of, and partly, because many infirm, sick, entirely ignorant, and poor foreigners were become only

a burden to the government. It was therefore ordered, upon a representation of Count Victor Kotschubei, minister of the interior, that no more colonists should be invited, but that whoever wished to go to Russia, should apply to the Russian ambassadors or agents abroad, who might give them passes and money for their travelling expenses. It was desired to have chiefly families, and only such foreigners as could be serviceable, as good farmers, gardeners, and rural labourers, and who possessed a capital of at least three hundred florins. The number of colonists from Germany was not to exceed two hundred families a year. It appeared on enquiry, that the lands in New Russia, situated between the Bug and the Dniester, which had been assigned in 1792, to landowners, with the obligation to cultivate them immediately, still lay waste, and that of about 825,000 dessatines, less than 7,000 had been settled in twelve years. The landowners in those parts were therefore enjoined to settle these lands, at the latest within four years from

the 1st of January 1805, so that there should be at least an hundred male settlers for every three thousand dessatines.

As Tscherkask, in the country of the Don Cossacks, continually suffered by inundations, the foundations of new Tscherkask, were laid in the spring of 1805 on a more convenient spot; and the two regiments stationed at Tscherkask, were employed in the work. Greater advantages were expected from the improvement of Kaffa, which is now known by the name of Feodosia. Odessa continued to improve rapidly, and had already above two thousand stone houses, and about fifteen thousand inhabitants, and on the 7th of June, four hundred merchantmen were in the roads. In the Baltic a beginning was made to form a spacious harbour near Reval, calculated to contain thirty ships of the line. Large sums were employed on the foundation of schools in all parts of the empire, and wealthy subjects followed the example of the government. The number of military

schools was fixed at ten, in which three thousand young noblemen were to be educated for officers. They were divided into fifteen companies, of two hundred each. The new university of Charkow was opened on the 29th of January, and a revenue of 130,000 rubles assigned to it.

Under the reign of Alexander, Russia already began to hope for the accomplishment of what had been long expected in vain. Peter the Great had directed his attention to the legislation of his empire, but very little was done in his reign. Since his time, various commissions for drawing up a code for Russia, had been almost constantly employed. The most distinguished of them was that organised by the Empress Catharine II. one hundred and twenty-eight persons were employed upon this work for seven years; but in 1774, Catharine, whose expectations were not fulfilled, dissolved the commission. It was re-established under Paul, but without leading to any result.

Alexander's order of the 21st October, 1803, placed this commission under the superintendence of the minister of justice, Prince Lapuchin, and Nicholas Novosilzow, who were put at the head of the great work, and showed in a few months, how worthy they were of Alexander's choice. Their first care was to lay down a fixed plan, of which they not only drew the outlines, but entered into the details, and accompanied it with a luminous statement of the principles, according to which it was drawn up. The whole work is divided into three principal parts, first, general legislation; second, application of this legislation to the Russian empire in general; and, third, modifications and exceptions for the several parts of the empire, according to their situations. A great progress had already been made in the spring of 1805, and an account of what had been done, printed in the Russian, French, German, English, Italian, and Latin languages, and which had been sent to academies and learned societies throughout Europe, with a view of obtaining the

advice of judicious friends of humanity of all nations.

The tediousness of law suits had long been a matter of great complaint in Russia. The Emperor Paul had therefore, in 1796, appointed three departments of the senate, whose sole employment was to decide the vast number of unfinished causes. Very little had, however, been done in eight years; and it was therefore determined, on the proposal of Prince Lapuchin, to abolish the three temporary departments, to increase the senate by two new departments, so that it now consisted of nine departments, six of which were at St. Petersburg, with sixty-one senators, and three at Moscow, with twenty-five senators. The whole body of the senate consisted of nine hundred persons; and, that it might have time for the performance of its various duties, among many other new regulations, the number of holidays was reduced from sixty-two to thirty-one.

The enfranchisement of the peasants continued, and the government took care that those who were made free should have sufficient means of subsistence, and that their liberty should be really a blessing. Petrowo-Solowowo, counsellor of state in the circle of Walugki, gave liberty to five thousand of his vassals, who were to pay him, in nineteen years, one million and a half of rubles, for the lands given up to them. Lastly, the numerous Jewish population of Russia, which, especially in the German provinces of the empire, had hitherto enjoyed only a precarious existence, were placed under the protection of the laws, and admitted among the other Russian subjects; the restrictions under which they were admitted were probably rendered necessary by their actual situation, in respect to civilization and morals.

It was evident that it was a chief object of Alexander to promote the cultivation of the soil and the population of his empire, and there-

is no reason to doubt the sincerity of an official article in the Petersburg Gazette, which declared that the government by no means desired the increase of its territory, which, especially on the eastern frontier, was without any advantage, and only required exertions and sacrifices. Accordingly, the attempt made the preceding year, from Georgia against Erivan, was disapproved in Petersburg. The troops had advanced too rashly in proportion to their numbers, and especially, as the chief object of this corps was to protect the frontier of Georgia against the incursions of predatory tribes. Though the Russians had been repulsed from Erivan, and no aggrandisement of the Russian power was to be apprehended on that side, the French cabinet took advantage of these hostilities, to excite in the Divan distrust of Russia. In this, however, it did not succeed; and the Porte even granted to Russia the free navigation of the Phasis, for the purpose of conveying reinforcements to the Russian corps in Georgia, and allowed a small

detachment of Russian troops to occupy two forts on the banks of the river, to protect the navigation. The Russians soon made use of this permission, and, to the great vexation of the French government, three Russian ships of war arrived, at the beginning of this year, at the mouth of the Phasis, in Mingrelia, laden with ammunition for the Russian army in Georgia, which was landed on the Turkish territory. Repeated attempts were made by the French, to cause a breach between the Porte and Russia, but in vain.

An alliance between England and Russia had been spoken of at London, in the preceding year; and, on the 11th of April, 1805, a treaty of concert between the two powers was concluded at St. Petersburg, by Lord Gower, Prince Czartorinski, and Mr. Von Novosilzof, by which Russia engaged to form a new coalition, and signed a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the courts of London, Vienna, and Stockholm. At this very time, Napoleon

placed upon his head the crown of Italy, and united the Ligurian republic with France; thus overturning, with his own hands, the free states which he had himself established on the other side of the Alps. This was announcing an ambition without bounds, and projects of encroachment without limit. War was declared. Count Novosilzof, the Russian envoy at Berlin, who had received orders from the Emperor Alexander to proceed to Paris, to attempt an accommodation, which was as little intended by France as by Russia, thought it useless, according to his instructions, to fulfil this mission; and, on the 10th of July, gave back to the Prussian minister, Count Hardenberg, the French passports which had been obtained for him, and returned to St. Petersburg, after publishing a note, couched in very strong terms, in which he explained the reasons of his sovereign for going to war, throwing the blame of all the misfortunes of Europe on France.

It must be observed, that one of the most

particular characteristics of this war, and of all those which followed it to 1813, was on the part of Napoleon, a prodigious activity, and an incontestible superiority of military talents; and on that of the allies, a tardiness and want of union in their measures, reciprocal distrust of each other, and a great want of skill in the most celebrated Prussian, Russian, and Austrian generals. All these causes tended to produce the bad success of the campaign of 1805, in which Austria was overpowered, almost without having fought, first, by the military genius of Napoleon, and, also by the imprudence of General Mack, the precipitation of the military movements ordered by the cabinet of Vienna, and the bad positions in which the Austrians were engaged from the very beginning of hostilities. There was another cause which had an influence on the rapid issue of this campaign. Prussia tacitly engaged in the coalition, but not daring to declare openly for it, waited for events, and continued to be very circumspect in its behaviour towards France.

The cabinet of Berlin would not allow the Russian troops to pass through its territory: accordingly the Emperor Alexander reached the Austrian army, only to be witness of the defeat of the corps of troops which he had sent to the assistance of Austria, and to see the total ruin of the army of that power, whose capital was already in the possession of Napoleon.

Alexander repaired in all haste to Berlin, where he arrived on the 25th October, and was received by the court, and the inhabitants with every mark of real esteem and respect: He hoped to induce Frederic William III. to make common cause with him, and to attempt a great diversion in favour of Austria. The two monarchs, who, as we have before related, had an interview in 1802, had contracted an intimate friendship, which seems never to have varied. In the night of the 4th of November, Alexander left Potsdam, having first, in company with the king and queen,

visited at midnight, the tomb of Frederic II. overpowered by his feelings, Alexander saluted the coffin which contained the remains of the great king, and inspired with the most honorable intentions, gave his hand in this solemn place to the King of Prussia, as the pledge of inviolable friendship. He travelled by way of Leipzig to Weimar, thence to Dresden, where he arrived on the 11th of November, and on the 18th, joined the Emperor Francis, at Olmutz, on the very day on which the second Russian army, under General Buxhovden, which had marched through South Prussia and Silesia, joined the first Russian army, under Kutusoff, which was at Olmutz.

Meantime, Austria appeared to have acquired, to repair its defeats, a degree of activity, which it never had shewn before. The remnant of its army, and the Russian forces, commanded by the Emperor Alexander, tried once more the fate of arms, under the orders of the two sovereigns. It was on the 2d of December,

1805, that Napoleon gained the memorable battle of Austerlitz, which rendered him master of the fate of the House of Austria.

After the battle, Napoleon fixed his head-quarters at Austerlitz. On the 4th of December, he went to his advanced posts, where he bivouacked, and in the afternoon had an interview with the Emperor of Austria. They agreed upon the terms of an armistice, and at the same time determined the principal conditions of peace, which was to be concluded in a few days. An armistice was also concluded with the Emperor of Russia, who, having taken leave of the Emperor Francis, set out on the 6th of December to return to St. Petersburg. He ordered his troops to leave the Austrian dominions and return to Russia, without having acceded to the treaty between France and Austria. "His only object" said the Petersburg court Gazette, "had been to assist his ally, and to avert the dangers which threatened his empire." But the exhausted resources of the

court of Vienna, the reverses it had met with, and want of provisions, had obliged the emperor to conclude a convention with France, which must soon be followed by peace; the Russian troops therefore seemed to be no longer necessary. On the 8th of December, the Russian army commenced its march in three columns. However it did not take the shortest way to Russia, but proceeded to Prussian Silesia, and the Grand Duke Constantine with Prince Dolgorucki, went to Berlin, to declare in the name of the emperor, that the Russian army, in conformity with the treaty, was at the disposal of the King of Prussia. It was not till the following February that the Russians marched from Silesia.

The speedy and disastrous termination of the war in Austria, baffled all the calculations of the allies, whose operations in other quarters were rendered useless, or even served to afford Napoleon pretext for further aggrandizement. A corps of British and Russian troops which

was collected in the north of Germany, effected nothing; and an army of between twenty and thirty thousand Russians and English having landed at Naples, and been well received by the king, Napoleon addressed a proclamation, 27th December, to the army, which was to march, under his brother Joseph, against Naples. In this proclamation he announced, in a few words, "The Dynasty of Naples has ceased to reign."

Notwithstanding the hard conditions of the peace, Austria did not lose much of its real power in Germany; but a fatal blow was struck against its domination in Italy. Prussia was placed by the armistice in a most critical situation. Confiding in Austria and Russia, it had caused its army to advance to the frontiers; and, in the middle of November, Count Haugwitz, the minister of state, was sent to the French head-quarters with proposals. He was not admitted to see Napoleon till after the battle of Austerlitz, when any proposals that he

could make must come too late. He appears to have been in great embarrassment how to proceed; and, in the end, signed, on the 15th of December, at Vienna, a convention, by which Hanover was given up to Prussia, in exchange for Neufchatel, &c. This convention, advantageous as it might seem at first sight, by so desirable an accession as the Electorate of Hanover, was, in fact, as unprofitable, as disgraceful to the Prussian government, which, thus aggrandised itself at the expense of its ally, the King of England; the natural consequence of which was, to engage it in a war with England, to alienate Russia, and to place itself in the power of the French emperor, who did not forget what Prussia had intended, though he thought fit to dissemble, because it was his interest.

CHAPTER V

1806 and 1807.—In all the coalitions against France, since the revolution, Russia had always been most closely united with England; and, whatever had happened at times, in opposition to this union, through a change in the personal sentiments of the Russian monarch, it might easily be foretold that the connexion would in fact continue so long as Russia should be in want of British gold and British merchandise.

The natural policy of Russia, but perhaps not so much as the mild and humane spirit of Alexander, manifested itself in the war against France, in 1805. It shewed itself more clearly in the conduct observed after the peace of Presburg, and appeared completely in its true shape at the conclusion of the treaty at Tilsit.

The defeat at Austerlitz had, indeed, severely hurt the Russian pride, but not humbled it. They could not deny that they had been beaten; but the loss of the battle was readily ascribed to the ally, whom the high-minded Russian monarch had hastened to assist. It could not be denied, that the remains of the army were obliged, after the loss of the battle, to return home by a prescribed route; but detailed accounts endeavoured to make the world believe, that the loss had not been so considerable as to render the retreat absolutely necessary, and that with the aid of the reserve, which was advancing, the contest might have been renewed with success. But the result was an historical fact. The military genius of Napoleon, supported by the superior skill of his army, and the experience of his generals, had decidedly triumphed over the blind valour of the Russian troops, and the antiquated tactics of their commanders. The Russian armies were obliged to retreat, if they would not be destroyed in the plains of Moravia. The

ancient and inveterate hatred was still more inflamed, and was shown most clearly in the new regulations for the exercises of the Russian troops, which were diligently trained in shooting at a mark; for which purpose, figures of French soldiers, painted on wood, were used; while the hussars and cossacks were exercised in striking off the heads of figures stuffed with straw, made to resemble Frenchmen. The public, who never looked below the surface, were taught to consider it as a splendid proof of the magnanimity of the Russian monarch towards Prussia, which was so severely blamed, that Alexander had sent to his friend, Frederic William the Third, the declaration that he released him from his promise to act against France; but if he was still disposed to do so, all the Russian troops in Hanover, under Tolstoy, and those marching through Silesia, under Benningsen, were at his disposal; these generals having received orders, punctually to obey the directions of the King of Prussia. It was evident to persons who reflected a little, that

Prussia could make no use of this apparently generous declaration. Would Benningsen and Tolstoy have served under Prussian generals? and how could Prussia declare against Napoleon, who, with the rapidity of lightning, could fall upon Silesia and Moravia, which were defenceless, while the Prussian armies were at a distance, about Göttingen, Gotha, &c.? The offer, however, had so much effect, that Frederic William, importuned by those about him, sent the Duke of Brunswick to St. Petersburg, to form a closer union with Russia. On the return of the duke to Berlin, persons who were well informed, knew with certainty that war with France had been resolved upon; and the success of a fourth coalition against France was now to be tried.

In contemplation of this event, extraordinary exertions were made to improve the organization and equipment of the Russian Army, and great pains were taken to imitate the tactics of the French. A new levy was ordered, to

increase the army to 500,000 men; great magazines were formed; the workmen in the celebrated manufactory of arms, were employed day and night, and old field-marshal Kamensky was appointed commander in chief of the army, which with the exception of the troops stationed on the frontiers of Persia, marched partly to those of Turkey, and partly, to those of Prussia. The spirit and the organisation of this army are equally characteristic.

The officers, as well as the soldiers, considered themselves as masters and proprietors of the country, through which they marched, whether it belonged to their allies, or to the enemy. The regiments which came from the interior of Russia, had no idea whatever of a regular system of quartering the men. The generals, officers, and privates, took up their abode in the houses which pleased them most. The proprietor became their servant and attendant, and he would have fared very badly if he had considered, or used the furniture, household uten-

sils, &c. as his own property, so long as his foreign guests remained with him. Each regiment was preceded on its march by fifty singers, taken at random from the multitude; these were followed by some of their comrades armed with cudgels, who, by very comprehensible arguments refreshed the voices of those who became weary. Brandy was the soul of these hosts. Blind obedience, and that savage valour which rushes without fear upon the enemy, and even when overcome, obstinately holds out to the last breath, remained their peculiar characteristics. With these talents for war they had been conquerors in almost all the battles with the Turks, and the Persians. They hoped to be equally successful against the enemy whom they had been taught to hate, and to despise.

It is entirely beside our purpose to enter upon the details of this disastrous war, on which so much has already been written, and we shall therefore give only a slight outline of

the military occurrences, till the termination of hostilities by the peace, concluded in the following year.

Though a treaty of peace between Russia and France had been signed at Paris, on the 20th July, the Emperor of Russia refused to ratify it, under the pretext that his plenipotentiary Mr. Oubril had departed from his instructions. The truth is that the Russian cabinet had commenced this negociation, only to gain time, and to afford Prussia leisure for completing its preparations for war. For more than eight months there had been only a reciprocal exchange of diplomatic deceptions between the cabinets of Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Paris. Napoleon had been informed by a Prussian general of all the transactions between Alexander and the King of Prussia, of the oath taken at the tomb of Frederic the Second, of the treaty signed by the two monarchs on the 1st October, 1805, and the additional convention of the third of November following. Napoleon therefore

had reason to consider Prussia as his secret enemy, against whose attacks it was proper to be prepared. Prussia rushed into the war with unexampled temerity, single-handed, without allowing time for its most powerful ally, the Emperor of Russia, to come to its support. The first hostilities took place on the 9th of October, 1806, and within a month after, the Prussian monarchy might be said to have ceased to exist. All the Prussian generals laid down their arms. Ignominious defeats and still more ignominious capitulations of the fortresses, proclaimed the weakness and the inability of the ministers and general officers of that nation.

Prussia has no reason to reproach Austria with incapacity and humiliation. The battle of Jena was more decisive in itself, and more fatal in its results, than even that of Austerlitz. Alexander had promised the King of Prussia to assist him with all his forces, but the Russian army arrived too late. The Russian troops had scarcely reached the frontiers of Germany

when they hastily retreated, and took up a position behind the Vistula. Napoleon followed them, attacked them at Pultusk and Golymin and obliged the Emperor Alexander to fight the battle of Eylau, February the 8th, 1807, in which the loss on both sides was immense. But the French army remained masters of the field of battle; after which, the military operations were suspended till the spring. But during this interval, numerous reinforcements arrived from France, to fill up the vacancy which so many battles had made in the great army: so that it had never been more formidable than when Napoleon led it to fight the battle of Friedland, the 14th of June. He completely defeated the Russian and Prussian armies, which suffered an enormous loss, and were obliged to retreat behind the Niemen. An armistice being concluded, Alexander and Napoleon had an interview in a tent, erected upon a raft in the middle of the Niemen. They afterwards took up their head quarters, in the town of Tilsit, where they settled preliminaries

of peace, which were signed on the 7th of July, with Russia, and on the 9th, with Prussia. The King of Prussia was indebted to the earnest intercession of Alexander, for being re-established on his throne, which he purchased with the loss of half his dominions, retaining the other half upon conditions so onerous that it was scarcely possible to fulfil them.

The result of this war, exposed to Europe the weakness of the Prussian monarchy. Frederic II. had given it a degree of splendour which raised it to the rank of a power of the first order. But this power lay in the genius of the great king, and not in the intrinsic strength of the state. In fact, from the battle of Jena to the peace of Tilsit, we meet with nothing to justify the high military reputation which Frederic II. had left to Prussia, nor can we find in modern history any example of such profound and lasting humiliation and disgrace, as that which was incurred by the Prussian generals during this war.[5]

Alexander recognised, by the treaty of Tilsit, all the new kingdoms established by Napoleon, and his appropriations of territory which had taken place up to that time, and even those which he might think fit to decree in future.

Perhaps there is no instance in history, of such a sudden change, not only in the councils, but apparently even in the personal sentiments of a great sovereign, as was manifested in those of Alexander, at the conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit, and in his subsequent conduct. From being the most determined enemy of Napoleon, he became at once his greatest admirer, and his warmest friend: ready, as it afterwards appeared, to second the plans of the French emperor against his own allies. By the treaty which compelled Prussia to give up Poland, the province of Bialystock, with 184,000 inhabitants, was ceded to Russia; which, on the other hand, gave up Jever to Holland. In a secret article, Russia promised to join France against England; to maintain the independence

of the neutral flags; and to induce Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal, to adopt the same system: it likewise engaged to withdraw its troops from Moldavia and Wallachia; and to make peace with Turkey, through the mediation of Napoleon. At Tilsit, Alexander appeared desirous of publicly appearing as the friend of Napoleon, of which some remarkable instances have been recorded; though, as they chiefly rest upon French authority, implicit credit ought perhaps not be given to them. On one occasion he is reported to have addressed Napoleon with the following verse:

"L'amitié d'un grand homme est un présent des dieux."

The two sovereigns conversed with the greatest familiarity on the organisation and the administration of their dominions. Alexander explained to Napoleon the nature of the Russian government. He spoke of his senate, and of the resistance which he experienced in his attempts to do good. Napoleon, grasping his

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hand, immediately replied, "However large an empire may be, it is always too little for two masters." The head and the heart of Napoleon are seen at once in these words, which are impressed with the stamp of despotism:—Machiavel himself could not have said better. We relate this fact because we have very good reason to believe that it is authentic.*

At the interview of the two monarchs, before the final conclusion of the peace at Tilsit, Napolean wishing to say something mortifying to the Emperor Alexander, said to him, "Your majesty is the handsomest man I have ever seen." Alexander answered, "I am sorry that I cannot say, que votre majesté soit le plus grand homme que j'aie vu." Another time, when Napoleon repeated the same thing, for he was accustomed to repetition, the emperor said to him, "Sire, Suwarroff was the handsomest man of my army at Zurich."*

CHAPTER VI.

The treaty of Tilsit, advantageous and honorable to Buonaparte as it appeared to be, has been considered by many judicious politicians as the first cause of his ruin. Intoxicated with ambition and glory, he sacrificed Poland, which all the interests of France, the independence of Germany, and the political balance of Europe, imperiously called upon him to re-establish as a kingdom, in order to serve as a barrier against the gigantic power of Russia. Alexander left Tilsit, after having recovered all his preponderance in the Baltic and the Black Sea, having lost nothing in Poland, and being always able to pass the frontiers of Germany.

While the Russian colossus extended one arm towards the west of Europe, the other

weighed less powerfully on the east and south. The war with the tribes on the Persian frontier continued with fluctuating success. Prince Zizianow, the commander-in-chief, who, from the year 1802, had conducted the war in Georgia, and on the frontiers of Caucasus, with great ability, announced in his report of the 8th of January, 1806, that the Chanate of Schirwan was incorporated with the Russian empire. The army, he said, had gone into winter quarters about Erivan, and would soon march to Bak, to assist Major-General Sawalischin against Gussein-Kuli Chan. But Zizianow there met his death, through the blackest treachery. Kuli Chan required that the Russian general should ride in person to the gates of Bak, to receive the keys. Zizianow consented; and, accompanied only by Prince Eristow and one cossack, hastened to meet the assassin, who was on horseback, before the gate of the town, and really delivered the keys; but, at the same moment, a Persian, placed behind the chan, shot the Russian ge-

neral from his horse. The other Persians fell upon him with their sabres, mangled him in a dreadful manner, and dragged his dead body into the town.

Ali Chan, of Derbent, had participated in this shameful deed. A Russian corps, under Lieutenant-General Glasenap, having crossed the Terek and marched against Derbent, Ali Chan prepared to defend himself. But the inhabitants of Derbent expelled their tyrant, and brought the keys of their city to the Russian general, who entered on the 3rd of July, amidst general rejoicings. This, however, did not terminate the campaign; for several chiefs of the Caucasian tribes joined together, to make a decisive attack upon the Russian troops on several points. Abbas Mirza had, for this purpose, crossed the Arais with 20,000 men, but was attacked by Major-General Nebossin, and driven back to the Arais with the loss of several thousand killed and wounded. The other princes were also defeated; and the

Russians, according to the official reports, were again masters of the whole country.

Though it is not possible to give an accurate account of such a predatory warfare, it is evident that if the Russian troops, by their superior discipline and experience, were generally successful, the warlike tribes and their chiefs, did not bow to the Russian sceptre. The sovereigns of Persia required only some powerful foreign assistance, to prove the most dangerous enemies to Russia. At least they might ruin the Russian caravan trade, and even impede the communications of the eastern provinces with the centre of the empire, as well as greatly obstruct the trade with China.

In comparison with the great events in Prussia and Poland, the war between Turkey and Russia may be considered merely as an episode. The deference of the Porte towards Russia, was the result of fear, founded on the bitter experience of forty years. As soon,

therefore, as Sultan Selim's fears were a little moderated by external events, he resolved to take other measures, which were powerfully supported by his mother, who had been gained over by Sebastiani. A Turkish ambassador was sent to Napoleon, whom he found at Berlin, which he had entered victorious. There was now reason to hope that Napoleon would soon co-operate with the Turks, and the French government announced with great detail, the military preparations making at Constantinople. The Porte, in fact, declared war against Russia, prohibited the ships of all nations from passing the channel of Constantinople, and would have imprisoned the Russian ambassador in the seven towers, had he not escaped by timely flight. Russia, which had undoubtedly hoped to induce the Porte to join it through fear, was much embarrassed by this unexpected resolution of the Turkish government, as the troops which, at the end of the year 1806, were stationed at Bucharest, might have been employed to much more advantage at Pultusk.

Of the 80,000 Russians with whom Michelson had crossed the Dniester, General Essen had been obliged to withdraw with a third part to oppose the French upon the Bug. The chief support of the Russians was the insurrection of the Servians under Czerny George, who took Belgrade by capitulation the 31st of January. The Greek inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia also looked upon the Russians as friends. Selim III. with all his exertions could oppose but a small army to the Russians, and had Russia been able to employ a sufficient force against the Porte, its overthrow at this time would have been inevitable.

France afforded its ally but little aid in its critical situation. A few officers, especially engineers, with some artillerymen, went to Constantinople, where they put the Dardanelles in a better state of defence, but could not hinder the Russian Admiral Siniavin, from defeating the Turkish fleet off Tenedos, and making himself master of that important

island. The Turks experienced a similar misfortune on the 1st of July, at Lemnos. It was not till the spring that a French corps approached from Dalmatia towards the frontiers of Bosnia but it was by no means quick in its operations. Napoleon, however, derived great advantage from this war, which divided the force of Russia. The peace at Tilsit restored tranquillity in Turkey also, for a truce was concluded at Slobosia, on the 24th of August, which was to continue till the 3rd of April, 1808; and in which the Servians were included. The terms of this armistice, as far as the Servians were concerned, were such as nothing could have extorted from the Porte, but absolute inability to continue the contest, with any prospect of advantage. In fact, the rebellions in the interior of the empire, the naval victories of the Russians, the war with England, and the terror excited by the appearance of the English fleet before Constantinople, though it had retired without effecting its object, ap-

peared to have shaken the Turkish empire to its foundation.

Alexander, who in November 1806, wrote the remarkable words, "I will do my utmost that the Prussian dominions may not lose even a village," had in July 1807, not only given up to the enemy, the half of the Prussian states, but even consented to incorporate a part of the Prussian territory with his own dominions. It is possible that he may have been influenced by many considerations, which were no subject for public communications and army bulletins, for every thing indicated that the genius, and the art of Napoleon had gained, not only the sovereign of the Russian empire, but what was, perhaps, of more importance, acquired his admiration and good will, as an individual. Alexander could hardly dissemble to himself that he must necessarily appear in the eyes of all Europe, as a weak, vain, and fickle prince, if he did not prove by energy and perseverance,

in promoting the plans of Napoleon which he had adopted, that higher political objects confirmed him in his new friendship; that they alone had compelled him to sacrifice his faithful friend, and to impose silence on the suggestions of his heart.

The peace with France was announced in a lofty tone to the people of Russia, as advantageous and glorious for the Russian arms. The emperor was received in Petersburg with acclamations, which the journals did not fail to speak of in detail. But they said nothing of the suppressed murmurings of the nobles, of the secret execrations of the merchants of the capital, who were enriched by the trade with England, and of the measures taken by the landowners in the Baltic provinces, to continue to sell their corn at high prices to the English, as heretofore.

Though the war was concluded, the troops which were to march into the interior received

orders to halt, and several regiments were soon brought nearer to the coasts of the Baltic, in order to protect them from any attempts of the English; a war with whom was doubtless considered as inevitable. An ukase of the 5th of August 1807, ordered that the wives of generals, staff and superior officers, who had fallen in the late war, or had died afterwards of their wounds, should enjoy a pension equal to the full pay of their husbands, and after the death of the wives, the pensions were to be continued to the sons till their sixteenth year, and to the daughters till their marriage. These liberal ordinances of the government, perhaps abated the discontent, excited by other measures: especially those which obstructed commerce and navigation.

The differences with England, which at length terminated in open war, inspired serious apprehensions. It seemed that Russia, before it began the contest, ought to take into consideration the state of its naval force, and its

means of successfully contending with England. The balance of trade with that country was wholly in favour of Russia, and war must be accompanied with immense loss; yet the influence of France prevailed, and Count Romanzoff, an adherent of the French system, was appointed minister of foreign affairs. The fleet, though numerous and respectable, was little able to contend with that of England, especially being divided into two distinct portions, one in the Baltic, the other in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

Meantime the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, by which Sweden and Denmark were to be compelled to declare against England, and their fleets to be placed at the disposal of France, having been disclosed to the English government, the latter resolved to anticipate this hostile intention, by striking the first blow. A most formidable expedition was fitted out, which suddenly appeared before Copenhagen, and peremptorily demanded that

the Danish government should conclude a strict alliance with England, and give up its whole fleet, to be kept as a pledge of its fidelity, till the general peace, because the English government had positive information, that Denmark would be compelled by France to declare war. This assertion of Mr. Jackson, the English ambassador, was declared by Count Bernstorff, upon his honour, to be unfounded, no proposal having been made by France, contrary to the neutrality of Denmark. Yet it can scarcely be imagined that the British ministers would have undertaken, out of mere wantonness, to fit out a most expensive expedition, the result of which, even if successful, could be attended with little advantage, while the ruin of an inoffensive state, the destruction of a great city, and the sacrifice of thousands of innocent lives, could not fail to excite general indignation throughout Europe, to give additional weight to the arguments of our enemies, and to affix an indelible stigma on the English name.

Whatever may have been the real grounds for the proceedings of the British government, the attack upon Denmark, and the deplorable consequences which resulted from its refusal to submit to the terms dictated by England, till a resistance as disastrous as it was honourable, had reduced it to extremity, afforded Alexander a plausible pretext for his declaration of the 16th of October, 1807, in which he first reproached the English cabinet for its tardiness in assisting Russia and Prussia, and with having acted hostilely towards the Russian naval commerce, at the very time when the blood of the Russians flowed for the interest of England, in the war with France. England, he said, had rejected every offer made by Russia to mediate for the conclusion of peace, and had undertaken a piratical expedition against Denmark; all which necessarily provoked the indignation of Russia; Alexander, therefore, declared that he suspended all communication with England, recalled his ambassador, desired not to have an English ambassador at his Court,

confirmed the principles of the armed neutrality, and engaged never to depart from that system. He demanded satisfaction for all the ships and merchandise belonging to his subjects, which had been detained contrary to treaty, and protested that he never would have the smallest connexion with England, till Denmark was indemnified. How all these solemn engagements were kept, will appear in the sequel; and we may judge how far the horror expressed by Alexander at the injustice of England in attacking Denmark, was sincere, when we reflect on his own conduct in declaring war against his ally, and brother-in-law, the King of Sweden, and wresting from him a great portion of his dominions, because he remained faithful to the system which Alexander himself had abandoned.

CHAPTER VII.

1808.—RUSSIA having happily terminated the dangerous contest with France, the peace of the continent of Europe appeared to be permanently established, by the personal friendship of the two most powerful sovereigns, when this very friendship led to a new war, which changed the face of the north, the true interests of which were forgotten, and in obedience to foreign influence and intrigue, the last weak pillars of the political system and balance of power in Europe, were overthrown. What reasons, it may be asked, did the sovereign of Russia find in the true interest of the nations which obey his sceptre, to begin this war with his friend and ally? A view of the elements of the power of the Russian empire may enable us

to form some opinion of the policy of this conduct.

The Russian empire contains about seven millions of square miles, of which about one-fourth part is extremely fertile. The population increases, as we have before stated, in a very rapid proportion. Nearly seven-eighths of this population dwell on this side of the Ural; four or five millions only being scattered over the large extent of Asiatic Russia; which may be considered as a vast domain, affording abundant resources for commerce, while the real power of the empire, resides in the western, or European provinces.

The mass of the nation, the genuine Russians, still bears, in a very great degree, the stamp of northern barbarism. They are a vigorous race, but rude, slavishly governed by the knout, almost *contented* with their melancholy degradation, grossly superstitious, and even without a notion of a better condition. The

word of their priests, the images of their saints, and the brandy bottle are their idols. The inhabitants of Esthonia, Livonia, and Lithuania, appear equally degraded by the vassalage of the peasants. The Russian Pole resembles them in wretchedness, uncleanliness, and ignorance, but has, however, some idea of a better state of things, of which they are destitute. The Tartar, in elevation of mind, is superior to them all.

It is evident, that these rude, unpolished men, are excellent machines in the field of battle. But they cannot be said to possess genuine valour; which is always accompanied by greatness of mind. Their bravery, is savage fury in the battle, passive obedience and invincible obstinacy, not to leave the spot on which the order of their commander has placed them. Where such a people come as conquerors, they trample on the existing civilisation; where there is none, it will certainly not spring up under *their* feet.

Alexander had begun, as we have already intimated, to soften the rudeness of his people by abolishing vassalage, and by improving the schools. This is a difficult work to carry into execution through the whole empire; for ninety three nations, with more than forty different languages inhabit that vast dominion, look with equal reverence towards the throne in the north, and listen with humility to the language of the ukases. But ukases are not sufficient to fructify the deeply hidden germs of humanity. There is indeed no reason to complain of the Russian legislation since the time of Catharine, for she respected the rights of humanity, and granted in many points a degree of liberty, which is not exceeded by the constitution of France. All religions have perfect freedom throughout the empire. The christian, which is professed by thirty-seven millions of people, is indeed predominant; and the Greek church, which is followed by the court, has the most numerous adherents. But the heathen *Schamane* dances unmolested to his magic drum,

and Jews and Mahometans have their public temples. The feudal system is unknown in Russia. The nobility have the titles of princes, counts, &c., but possess no principalities to make them rivals to the sovereign. Noblemen may follow respectable professions without losing their nobility; and the citizen purchase noble estates without becoming a nobleman. But a person not noble acquires the rights of nobility, and leaves them to his posterity, when he has risen to one of the first eight classes according to the Russian order of precedence. In this respect Russia has made a considerable advance before many other states; but a great contrast is afforded by the hard lot of vassalage, which still oppresses by far the greater part of the Russian nation. Thirty years ago the total number of free males was only 1,084, 486, whereas there were 11,352,842 male vassals. Even in 1808, this melancholy proportion was but little changed, and the land was therefore but ill cultivated, for the blessing of heaven rests not on the labours of the slave.

The rearing of cattle is likewise in its infancy; only the mines, where the knout governs, and in which an immense number of vassals are employed, afford a better profit. Whole tribes voluntarily devote themselves to hunting and fishing, and numerous criminals are compelled to pursue the former avocation.

Mechanical trades have long been carried on in all the villages; properly speaking, there were no manufactories in Russia till the time of Peter the Great, but in the year 1803 their number amounted to 2,393. On the 30th of June 1808, however, the minister of the interior published an invitation to able foreign cloth manufacturers and weavers, to settle in New Russia, offering them very great encouragement.

From the official accounts of the Russian trade up to the treaty of Tilsit, it appeared to have been continually increasing, and nearly 4,000 merchant ships, of which a fourth part

were English, entered the ports of the empire; but in 1808, the number that arrived in the eighteen most considerable ports was less than a thousand, of which only three hundred visited the ports of the Baltic. The revenues of the crown amounted to about 110,000,000 of rubles, and though no budget was ever published in Russia, it may be presumed that the greater part of the revenue was expended on the army and navy. The former amounted to above four hundred thousand regular, and one hundred thousand irregular troops. The navy consisted of thirty-two ships of the line, eighteen frigates and sixty smaller ships of war, besides above two hundred galleys, carrying altogether five thousand six hundred guns, manned with thirty thousand seamen, and eight thousand marines.

The ordinary resources of the state were not sufficient to put in motion this very great force in the different parts of the frontier that were threatened. The government had already been

obliged in the last war to call upon the rich, for extraordinary contributions, which they readily furnished in very great abundance. A new war at the opposite boundaries of the empire, added to the great loss caused by the stagnation of trade, must necessarily lead to new sacrifices, for which even extensive conquests might not afford a sufficient indemnity. The soundest policy for Russia was peace; but as matters now stood, this great empire could no longer follow its own policy, but was obliged to make war according to Napoleon's great plan, which was firmly arranged between the two emperors.

Accordingly the King of Sweden, having refused to follow the example of his brother-in-law Alexander, by acting against England, in support of Bonaparte's continental system, war was declared against him by Russia, and soon after by Denmark, and the Russian army under Count Buxhövden, entered Swedish Finland at Abberfors with a very superior force. The

Russian general issued proclamations, very much in the revolutionising spirit of France, inviting the Swedish army not to shed its blood in an unjust cause, but rather to lay down its arms, and return home enriched by Russian generosity. The inhabitants were exhorted peaceably to submit to Alexander's mild sceptre, who would love Finland like a father, in the same manner as his other provinces. The King of Sweden incensed at this disgraceful manner of beginning war, with inviting his subjects to break their allegiance, issued a declaration against Russia, bitterly reproaching the faithlessness, meanness, and perfidy of its emperor. But the bravery of the Swedes, who under every disadvantage, fought with heroic valour, the alliance with England which sent 12,000 men, who, however were not employed, could not avert the loss of Finland; which after various sanguinary combats, fell entirely into the possession of the Russians, and was incorporated with the Russian empire. So great a loss to Sweden was by no means compensated

by some advantages gained with the help of England, over the Russian and Danish fleets. The former put into Baltic port on the coast of Esthonia when it was strictly blockaded by the English and Swedish fleets. It was here so advantageously situated that the blockading fleets could not venture to attack it; and violent storms having obliged them to stand off from the coast, the Russian fleet left its secure retreat, and disappointed the threats of destruction which the King of Sweden had held out. The Russian fleet under Vice-Admiral Siniavan was not so fortunate. It had come from the Mediterranean to Lisbon, for the purpose of co-operating, to compel Portugal to declare against England, and had remained there, while the French were in possession of that city. It was obliged to capitulate to Admiral Cotton, a few days after the signing of the convention of Cintra, by which the French were obliged to evacuate Portugal. This fleet consisted of one ship of eighty guns, six of seventy-four, two of

sixty, and one of twenty-six, which were sent to England, and were to be restored to Russia six months after the conclusion of peace between the two powers. The officers and crews were not prisoners of war, but were sent to Russia at the expense of England. Meantime the discontent of the Swedes at the unfortunate war daily increased; the nobles of the party of the Duke of Sudermania grew more powerful, and everything was already preparing for the revolution, which in the following year precipitated the unfortunate Gustavus IV. from the throne.

To Russia, on the other hand, the acquisition of Finland was of the highest importance, as it secured its ascendancy in the Baltic. It is considered as one of the greatest political faults of Napoleon, that he suffered Russia to make itself master of this formidable bulwark of the north. But Russia permitted him, at the same time, to dethrone the King of Spain, and to

place the crown of that kingdom on the head of his brother Joseph. Nay, Alexander still placed so much confidence, as it appears, in the honourable policy of Napoleon, that he eagerly acceded to the proposal to meet him at Erfurth, that they might there discuss together the interests of Europe. Napoleon arrived in that city on the 27th of September, and the Emperor Alexander a few hours later. The Kings of Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg, Jerome, King of Westphalia, and many other German princes, the Grand Duke Constantine,[8] and Prince William of Prussia, were assembled at Erfurth on this remarkable occasion; as well as the ministers of state of most of those powers. Baron Vincent appeared in the name of the Emperor of Austria, with a letter, in which the emperor expressed his pacific sentiments towards France.

Though Alexander and Napoleon were on such friendly terms, various little occurrences

at Erfurth shewed that their secret dispositions were not quite conformable to outward appearances: the following is one of the most piquant of them.

When Napoleon was at Erfurth, he affected, one evening at a ball, to converse with the literati, particularly with Goethe; and, to make a contrast with the Emperor Alexander, who was dancing, he said to Goethe, loud enough for Alexander to hear,—"How well the Emperor Alexander dances." Alexander took his revenge by turning to Napoleon, who had a habit of beating time with his foot, and saying, "How ill your majesty beats time." Napoleon retired with Goethe into a corner of the room.

The subjects discussed in the congress were the diminution of the contributions imposed by France upon Prussia, the reception of the Duke of Oldenburg into the confederation of the Rhine, the peace with England, the relations

between France and Austria, and the affairs of Turkey. To the proposal made to England, by Alexander and Napoleon, to conclude peace, the British government declared its readiness, if ambassadors from Sweden, and from the Spanish government, were admitted at the congress. But, as Napoleon would not make this concession to the Spanish nation, and was supported in his determination by Alexander, the negociations were entirely broken off in December.

Meantime the congress at Erfurth separated on the 14th of October, after Napoleon had secured, as he thought, peace with Austria, and agreed with Alexander upon certain arrangements, the contents of which have never been made known, though it is supposed that the two emperors divided the supremacy of Europe between them; Alexander to rule the north, and Napoleon the south, and determined on the partition of Turkey. They engaged rigorously to maintain the system of the con-

tinental blockade, in order to compel England to make peace. This system appeared to be well conceived, but it was evident that its object could not be attained, unless it were executed with the greatest strictness. This, however, would have been extremely injurious to the commercial interests of Russia. Alexander made some modifications in it, in conformity with that interest, which, however necessary, were considered by Napoleon as a violation of the treaties, of which he complained in no very measured terms. This was precisely what England wanted; it skilfully took advantage of the embarrassment in which the Spanish war already placed France, to form a new continental coalition; the elements of which had been prepared with mysterious activity, and which was declared by a sudden attack of Austria. That power, in its manifesto, enumerated a host of grievances, the sum and substance of which was the insatiable ambition of Napoleon. Austria could depend on the subsidies of England, but the Russian cabinet

appeared to be firmer than ever in its alliance with France, and ordered the Austrian diplomatic agents to quit St. Petersburg, when fresh differences had broken out between France and Austria. Whether the cabinet of Vienna expected any support from Russia, is not certain; for the course of its misfortunes was so rapid, that it would have been impossible to afford it any assistance. The battles of Eckmühl and Ratisbon, the taking of Vienna, the battles of Esling and Wagram, again laid the Austrian monarchy at the mercy of Napoleon. Peace was again signed at Vienna, on the 14th of October, 1809. By this treaty, Austria ceded to Russia, in the eastern part of Gallicia, in ancient Poland, a territory containing a population of 420,000 souls; and Napoleon, who, by his treaty of alliance with Alexander, had put it out of his own power to re-establish the kingdom of Poland, committed a new fault in strengthening the natural enmity of that country on the frontiers of the duchy of Warsaw.

It seems strange, though it cannot well be denied, as it is affirmed by the most strenuous advocates of Napoleon, that his judgment was blinded from the day that the Emperor of Austria called him "my brother." He thought his throne and his dynasty secured for ages, when the Emperor Francis II. consented to give him the hand of the Archduchess Maria Louisa.

The banks of the Danube were still dyed with the blood of thousands of soldiers of both parties, sacrificed to the enmity of their masters, when the two sovereigns, actuated by meanness on the one hand, and ambition on the other, talked of uniting their families, and an archduchess was the price paid for the restitution of some territory. But this illustrious and ill-omened marriage seemed to mark the culminating point from which the fortune of Napoleon was destined to decline. While the war, which his ambition had excited in Spain, was carried on by his generals, whose talents,

supported by the best troops of France, were baffled by the genius of Wellington, powerfully seconded by the noble resistance of the Spanish nation; Russia quietly looked on, at the sacrifices required by so impolitic a war. But in proportion as it became more disastrous to the French armies, the cabinet of St. Petersburg gradually relaxed the ties which bound it to the alliance with Napoleon; who, pursuing, with more obstinacy than utility, his prohibitory system against England, caused his troops to occupy the duchy of Oldenburg, in the beginning of the year 1811, in order to complete the continental blockade along the coasts of the North Sea. This new usurpation was the subject of a warm and just remonstrance on the part of the Emperor Alexander.

1809 and 1810.—In the course of these two years various ameliorations continued to be made in the internal administration of the empire. A general diet for Finland was summoned to meet at Umeo, on the 10th of March, 1809,

to which the emperor repaired in person, and a council of government for that province was organised. A remarkable ordinance of the 3rd of April prescribed, that all the chamberlains should choose, within two months, some kind of active service. "Their titles," said the ordinance, "should henceforth be only a distinction at court, and not confer either military or civil rank." An ukase of the 6th of August ordered that every person who wished to advance in the civil service, must undergo the prescribed academical examinations, in languages, jurisprudence, history, and mathematics; for every one should be promoted according to the nature of the certificate given of his ability. The commission, appointed five years before, to draw up a new code for the Russian empire, and which had cost a hundred thousand rubles annually, received a new organization. Further progress was made towards abolishing the slavery of the peasants. It appears indeed that some greater alleviation of their condition was necessary, especially in the

frontier provinces, where the spirit of emigration had spread in such a degree that it was necessary to publish an ukase against it. By another ordinance all gypsies in the empire were to be compelled to choose a fixed abode.

The trade of the empire suffered severely by the war with England; and, with all the wisdom and energy of the government, it could not be denied that Russia was extremely weakened by the war in the preceding year. The armies had indeed been victorious against the Swedes, Turks, and Persians, and the acquisition of the fine district in Gallicia cost nothing but proclamations to the inhabitants, and some forced marches, to get possession of the capital, Cracow, before the victorious Poles. But the most successful war sensibly diminishes the strength of so thinly peopled a country; and this was doubly felt, when, by an ukase of the 29th of September 1809, a new levy of one man from every hundred males was ordered to complete the army and navy.

In 1810 the government adopted many judicious measures to promote the internal prosperity of the empire, but all these could not remove the financial embarrassments, or remedy the depreciation of the paper currency; and it was in fact evident to the unprejudiced observer, that the political power of Russia was rather imposing at a distance, than real and firmly consolidated in itself; that the great empire required a radical reform in its interior; and that all its splendid triumphs and conquests could not cure the *cancer* which preyed upon its vitals. The trade of the empire was in a dangerous crisis: the ancient connections with England were not entirely broken off, but very much fettered; for it was necessary to follow, in appearance at least, the continental system. But the advantages of the contraband trade, in the ports of the Baltic and the White Sea, were reaped by private persons, and not by the government. Russia clearly inclined to its old connections, and the general voice of their country proclaimed that the empire could not

prosper unless they were renewed. The public statements of rigorous adherence to the continental system, were looked upon as mere blinds, and the public considered in this light both the ordinance of the 22nd of May, respecting the trade with Brazil, which prohibited provisionally the importation of produce from Portugal, and the imperial rescript, confiscating the cargoes of many ships from Teneriffe. All the external relations with France and its allies seemed to promise a durable peace. Only the old quarrel with the Porte was not terminated, and though the sovereign of Persia was induced by the English ambassador Mr. Morier, to commence hostilities with Russia, that empire, considering the superiority of its armies in numbers and skill, had nothing to fear from such enemies. There were indeed several very sanguinary actions, and obstinate sieges in Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, but fortune was on the side of the Russians and their Servian allies; so that the Turks were induced in October to enter into negociations for an armi-

stice. The Russians were equally successful against the Persians in several actions, which however were of little importance either in themselves or in their consequences.

CHAPTER VIII.

1811.—Though the finances of Russia were very much embarrassed by the late expensive wars, the empire possessed immense resources, the judicious employment of which, combined with strict economy in the administration, would soon make up for the falling off of the revenue. Thus, for instance, the mines belonging to the crown and to private persons, produced annually, above thirty millions of rubles. The government alone had a clear profit of above six millions and a half of rubles, while its expenses were less than two hundred thousand rubles. On the 25th of February, this year, an imperial manifesto, signed by Count Romanzoff, the chancellor of the empire, announced that by the decisive measures which had been adopted, the permanent revenues had been increased

above one hundred millions of rubles, and that the government was able, not only to meet all the expences of the year without new taxes, but even to reduce some of the old ones.

A new commercial ordinance was published, which, together with the new tariff of customs, was designed to promote the national manufactures, by encouraging exportation and checking the importation of foreign produce and manufactures, by rigorous prohibitions or heavy duties. The maritime trade presented a great falling off, compared with former years, but the internal trade of the empire, with the independent tribes and nations in Asia, had been very much extended; for instance, the celebrated fair at Makarjew was remarkably well attended, and the value of the goods brought to it amounted to above fifty-three millions of rubles, of which forty-two millions were Russian manufactures.

Beneficial effects now began to be felt in

consequence of the humane resolution of the government, to give to the crown vassals the right of acquiring landed property. According to the principles of the ukase of 1801 lands to the value of nearly six millions of rubles had been acquired by persons who formerly could not hold them. Above the half was purchased by merchants; and above one third by the crown vassals. The number of vassals who had become free from 1803 to 1811 appeared by official accounts to be 13,575 males. Great praise is due both to private persons and to the government for the foundation of charitable or useful institutions. Among these the Lyceum deserves particular notice, which was founded by the emperor himself at Zarskoje-selo, which was to enjoy the same privileges as the universities, and to educate young men for the important offices in the state. Only scholars of approved character, and with a sufficient stock of knowledge previously acquired, were received in it from twelve years and upwards, for six years. After which they were em-

ployed in the military or civil service according to their qualifications. Fourteen masters gave instructions in the Russian, German, and French languages, in ethics, mathematics, natural philosophy, history, and the belles lettres, &c. The discipline, and the system of rewards and punishments, in this admirable institution deserve to be quoted as models for all similar establishments. Alexander took particular pleasure in watching over this lyceum and examining the progress of the pupils. It was unfortunately destroyed by fire, together with part of the palace in 1820.

The literature of Russia made a very rapid advance in the beginning of this century. In the first few years 1304 works were published, of which seven hundred and sixty-one were original; of the translations two hundred and sixty-two were from the French; one hundred and ninety-four from the German; and twenty four from the English. The anonymous works were seven hundred and forty-two; among the

authors named, were ten princes, six counts, nineteen prelates, &c.; one eighth of the authors were clergy, and by far the greater part of the writers belonged to the hereditary nobility. Of the literati by profession the catalogue mentioned ninety-four, and gave also the names of five female authors.

With all these improving prospects in the interior, the political horizon was becoming very gloomy. A dreadful storm was approaching from the west, while numerous armies in Moldavia and Wallachia, and on the boundaries of Asia and Europe, were engaged in sanguinary warfare with the Turks and Persians. This contest would soon have been decided in favour of Russia, had not the differences with France drawn the best part of the Russian force, in the middle of the year, to the western frontiers of the empire. Napoleon, as we have above mentioned, having, contrary to all right and justice seized on the dominions of the Duke of Oldenburg, without even an offer of in-

demnity; that prince and his son, went to St. Petersburg, while Napoleon publicly declared his confident hope that the peace of the continent would not be interrupted. A frequent exchange of couriers, between Paris and St. Petersburg, at first gave reason to hope an amicable arrangement: but when the French garrison at Dantzig was increased to 20,000 men, when the army of Germany under Davoust was daily strengthened, and several divisions advanced to the Oder and Vistula, when the Polish army and the Saxon corps were considerably augmented by hasty levies, the hope of peace naturally declined, and unprejudiced persons recognised the real object of the strengthening of the Russian cordon on the coasts of the Baltic and the frontiers of Warsaw. So early as March numerous Russian troops, including some regiments of the guards, marched to occupy all the coasts and harbours of the Baltic, as far as the Russian dominion extended. If these and other measures, adopted at the same time, might have been considered as

intended only to support the commercial regulations, and prevent smuggling, yet had there been solid hopes of the continuance of an amicable understanding with the powerful sovereign of France and Germany, there could be no reason for the pacific Alexander to order, by his ukase of the 16th of September, a levy of four men out of 500 throughout all the provinces of the empire. This levy of 130,000 men was not only to be complete by the 1st of January, 1812, but orders were given that they should be immediately trained in the interior of the country, by invalid officers and subalterns, so that when they joined their regiments, they might be fit for immediate service.

Thus the inhabitants of the European continent, looked forward to a dreadful contest in the north, which would decide whether they should be completely reduced to slavery, or delivered from a foreign yoke. Never had Russia a more formidable contest to maintain; for during the critical period of preparation, a

great part of its armies was fully engaged with the Turks, who had been roused to enthusiasm by foreign influence.

It is not our intention to give a detailed account of the campaign in Turkey, in which there were several very obstinate engagements, with great loss on both sides. The Turks, commanded by Achmed Aga, showed more military skill than usual, and fought with desperate valour; they gained considerable advantages over Kutusow, and even forced the passage over the Danube, but by a piece of imprudence, lost all their advantages; and their army was compelled to lay down its arms, and surrender prisoners of war, to the number of 25,000 men, on the 8th of December.

The following circumstance shews that there was a secret grudge in the breast of Napoleon towards Alexander, before the public suspected any misunderstanding. Towards the end of the year 1811, the Emperor Napoleon made a journey to Holland, and Maria Louisa accom-

panied him thither. It was during his visit to Amsterdam that he first betrayed a mark of animosity to the Emperor Alexander, a sentiment which the public by no means supposed him to entertain, for nothing had yet transpired that could disturb the good understanding between the two sovereigns. In a cabinet of the apartments of the empress, there stood on a piano, a small bust of the Emperor Alexander, which was a remarkable likeness. Wherever Napoleon resided, it was his custom to examine all the rooms allotted to himself and the empress. On this occasion, perceiving the bust in question, he took it up, placed it under his arm, and continued to converse with the ladies present. Meantime, he forgot the bust, and raising his arm, let it fall. One of the ladies caught it before it reached the ground, and asked Napoleon what she should do with it; "What you please," said he, "but never let me see it again."

CHAPTER IX.

1812.—The policy of Russia ever since the reign of Catharine has been decidedly directed towards Europe; and sufficiently proved to the unprejudiced observer, that its object was nothing less than to obtain the supremacy over the European continent. The mild Alexander renounced indeed the part of a dictator, which his unfortunate father had ventured to assume; but repeated attempts to influence the relations of the European states, testified that the policy of the cabinet of St. Petersburg under the reign of Alexander, was still the same. A collision with France was inevitable in this direction, and could not be avoided at this time, unless the policy of Russia gave up its direction towards Europe, and sought the central point of the Russian power in Asia, there

to found an eastern monarchy, which might decidedly counter-balance the western empire of Napoleon.

The policy of Russia took the opposite direction. The most dreadful contest with Napoleon was therefore certain, and the danger to the political existence of Russia greater than ever, had not mad ambition, blind thirst of glory, and vanity intoxicated by long prosperity, led the French emperor to attempt to finish in one campaign what would have required several campaigns, carried on with moderation and upon a well matured plan. It is true indeed that the Russian politicians and generals when they laid down their general plan for the war, could not take into their calculation, errors which their adversary was not likely to commit. When they determined on engaging in the contest, they reckoned on the strength of their army, whose bravery and hardiness were undoubted, but which had no generals who could be compared in tactical skill with those

of Napoleon. They also took into account the difficulty of carrying an offensive war into the heart of Russia; so that the Russians thought they had nothing to fear in waging a defensive war in their own country.

The decided aversion of the people to the French was another favourable circumstance. Lastly the subsidies of England, and the effects of a diversion were probably taken into the account. Since, considering the general temper of the inhabitants, between the Vistula and the Rhine, such a diversion, if it were at all successful, might lead to the most important consequences in the rear of the French army.

According to accounts, founded upon official documents, the Russian army, including the marine and the garrisons, amounted to 899,927 men under arms. On the other hand the whole of Western Europe marched under the banners of Napoleon, who had at his command a population of 80,000,000.

While the eyes of all Europe were turned on the immense preparations making on both sides, the French agents pretended that Napoleon's departure from Paris was merely designed to review the great army on the Vistula. Perhaps even he hoped honourably to avert the terrible struggle, conformably to his own views, and with this intention had sent the Count de Narbonne to the head-quarters of Alexander at Wilna. On the one hand, the increasing consumption, both of men and money, by the war in the Spanish peninsula, might appear as an obstacle to his plans, while on the other, he could calculate on an army of nearly a million of men, and depended likewise on a great body of auxiliaries, namely one hundred thousand men furnished by the Rhenish confederation, and lastly on the alliance with Prussia and Austria, which secured his rear and both flanks, and supplied him together, with sixty thousand men.

Alexander appeared alone in the lists, but he was well aware that the sceptre of the conti-

nent would be his, if it fell from the hands of Napoleon. On the 24th of April, he left St. Petersburg, to join his main army, which was stationed on the western frontier of Lithuania. England had not yet acceded to the treaty of alliance, concluded on the 14th of March, between Russia and Sweden; but the cabinet of St. Petersburg did not doubt of this accession, which, in fact, took place some weeks later; It was then that the Prince Royal of Sweden, Marshal Bernadotte, engaged to take the field, and to join with his own troops, a Russian corps. England and Russia promised to Sweden the kingdom of Norway, and the island of Guadeloupe. Napoleon left Paris on the 9th of May, having appointed a meeting with his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, which took place at Dresden on the 26th. His ambassador having returned to Dresden, without effecting the object of his mission, his army was put in motion at the end of June, to seek the Russians beyond the Niemen and the Vistula.

The army which was now going to enter Russia, one of the finest and most formidable ever collected under the French banners, amounted to half a million of men, including the auxiliaries of Prussia and Austria, in whose alliance Napoleon perhaps placed too much confidence. Alexander had concluded conventions more prudent and advantageous. Besides the treaties with England and Sweden he had taken his measures in Turkey. The peace, signed at Bucharest on the 28th of May, left him without uneasiness for the southern parts of his empire: and as soon as Napoleon, from his head-quarters at Gumbinnen in western Prussia, had proclaimed war with Russia, Alexander gave orders to his army in Moldavia, to march to Lithuania. It is asserted by French writers that this treaty of Bucharest was not known to Napoleon till five months afterwards, namely in the beginning of October. But if this is true, it seems difficult to explain what General Andreossy, the French

ambassador at Constantinople was doing, that he did not send his master notice of events of such importance to him.

The history of the campaign of 1812, and the following years, till the occupation of Paris by the allies in 1814, is so fully known, even in its minutest details, by numerous publications, in various languages, that we shall content ourselves with giving a rapid sketch of those extraordinary events.

On the 14th of July, Alexander repaired to Moscow, to excite the zeal of the Russians in defence of their country. The French armies had entered the Russian territory on the 25th of June, and the cabinet of St. Petersburg had not yet taken any great national measure for the defence of the empire against invasion. Napoleon, who had passed the Niemen, without opposition, exclaimed, "Fatality hurries on the Russians, let the destinies be accomplished." The army entered Wilna, the capital of Lithuania,

which the Russians had just evacuated, flying before the enemy, and abandoning their frontiers, with a rapidity which seemed to conceal a snare. This solitude and silence alarmed the French soldiers, whose superstitious terrors were increased by a dreadful storm. The roads and the fields were inundated, ten thousand horses perished, and a squadron of Poles was drowned in the Viloa, in attempting to cross it, by Napoleon's order.

The march of the emperor to Wilna having been extremely rapid, his convoys could not keep up with him; he would not wait for them, but yielding to his impatience, and to the hope of a decisive battle, he followed the enemy with 400,000 men, with provisions for only twenty days, in a country which had been unable to support the 20,000 Swedes under Charles XII. Of the immense droves of oxen which followed the army, a considerable part reached Wilna and Minsk, but too late to be of much use. In the same manner, the corn sent from Dantzig

arrived several days after the departure of the troops. Thus the disasters of this expedition commenced at the outset, and the grand army was constantly harrassed by famine, on its advance as well as on its retreat. Of the three principal columns into which it was divided, that of the centre suffered the most, because it followed the road, where the Russians had ruined every thing, and the devastation of which was completed by the van-guard of the French army. As it went forward the soldiers lived by pillage, which exasperated the country, but which nothing could prevent.

Such was the state of things when a Russian agent, named Balachoff, appeared at the French advanced posts, bringing proposals of peace from his master. They were, however, too vague to be admitted, and Napoleon dismissed Mr. Balachoff. Alexander, whatever might be his secret intentions, seemed by this step to have carried his moderation to the utmost. Napoleon stopped twenty days at Wilna, and when

he left that city, several engagements took place between the French and the Russians, but they were only skirmishes, and Napoleon's hope of a great battle was disappointed. Prince Bagration however was defeated at Mohilef by Davoust, and joined Barclay de Tolly. It appears that Napoleon having reached Witepsk, without seeing the enemy, who had abandoned their strongly fortified camp, was at first inclined to remain there for the winter. This resolution was of short duration, and Napoleon thought only of taking Moscow. In spite of the sufferings of his troops, who were perishing by thousands of disease and hunger, he resolved to proceed, and on the 16th of August came in sight of Smolensk, and of the whole Russian army, commanded by Prince Bagration and Barclay de Tolly. It extended over the plain in long and dark columns. At this sight, Napoleon, transported with joy, exclaimed, "At length I have them!" But he was again deceived. Barclay de Tolly, instead of risking a battle to save Smolensk, thought it sufficient to protect the flight of the inhabitants

and to empty the magazines. Having done this the Russian army continued its retreat, and could not be overtaken. The few troops left in Smolensk defended it obstinately, and set fire to it, when they withdrew.

The French were now in possession of the road to Moscow, and some engagements took place with the Russian rear guard, especially a severe contest at Volontina. But the Russians continued their retreat, burning all the towns through which they passed, followed step by step by the French, who suffered severely by privations of every kind. Napoleon however began to grow uneasy; he had expected some communication from the Emperor Alexander, but none came, and he himself made advances to a new negociation. He caused a letter to be written to Barclay de Tolly, and sent to the Russian emperor protestations of friendship, which were at the least singular in the actual state of things. But the Emperor Alexander, far from being inclined to answer accord-

ing to his wishes, was at that time in Finland, when he had an interview with Bernadotte, to induce him to act offensively against Napoleon. It was in this conference, at which the English ambassador was present, that it was resolved to write to General Moreau, to offer him a command, which he unfortunately accepted.

It was at this interview with the crown prince that the news of the entrance of the French into Smolensk arrived, on receiving which Alexander pledged himself, never to sign a treaty of peace with Napoleon while he was on Russian ground. "Should St. Petersburg be taken," said he, "I will retire into Siberia. I will then resume our ancient customs, and like our long-bearded ancestors, will return anew, to conquer the empire." "This resolution," exclaimed the crown prince, "will liberate Europe."

The temporising system adopted by the Russian general seems to have displeased his

own men, as much as it harrassed the French; and Alexander, obliged to yield to the general clamour, gave the chief command to Kutusoff, an old general of the school of Paul I. In consequence of this change the Russian army at length stopped, and on the 7th of September was fought the memorable battle of Borodino, or the Moskwa, one of the most desperate and sanguinary recorded in the annals of modern warfare. Above 120,000 cannon shot were fired. The loss of the Russians, according to their own account, was 25,000 killed, and that of the French probably not inferior. It may be calculated that the killed and wounded amounted to 100,000 men, with a very great number of officers and generals. On the side of the French, who had 43 generals killed or wounded, they particularly regretted Auguste Caulaincourt and Montbrun; and on that of the Russians, the intrepid Prince Bagration. Though the Russian army retreated in good order, Kutusoff did not venture another battle to save Moscow.

The inhabitants of that city finding that it was not to be defended, resolved to fly; for which a few days were left them by the inability of the French immediately to profit by their doubtful victory. Napoleon stopped three days at Mosaisk, and it was not till the 14th of September, that the advanced guard of the French army entered the ancient capital of the czars, whose flames were destined to be at the same time, the funeral torch of the fortune of Napoleon, and the beacon of deliverance to the Russian nation.

After all that has been said of the burning of Moscow, and of the causes of that unparalleled event, it would be idle to enter upon the discussion in this place. I will merely observe, that notwithstanding all that has been latterly written to prove that Moscow was burnt without any premeditated plan, and in spite of Count Rostopschin's pamphlet, entitled "La verité sur l'incendie de Moscow," we agree with Dr. Lyall, "that the Russians themselves certainly

did burn Moscow by design, and that if this most glorious example of patriotism has been disavowed by the Russians, it was because the Russian government was glad to have an opportunity to exasperate the minds of the populace at Moscow, by exaggerating the barbarous conduct of the Emperor Napoleon."

Whatever may have been the origin of the conflagration, it destroyed all the splendid expectations which had been founded on the possession of Moscow: it filled the French and their adherents with dismay, nor did they ever after recover from the shock. What could induce Napoleon to remain six weeks in a place, which, as he himself afterwards declared, had now neither political nor military importance, has never been explained, nor, as far as I know, attempted to be so. His conduct, in this respect, seemed so extraordinary, that it was even pretended the shock had affected his understanding.[9]

It is well known, that after having waited 35 days in Moscow, for a letter and proposals from the Emperor Alexander, Napoleon resolved to abandon his barren conquest, and the still smoking ruins of that capital; he quitted it, leaving orders with Marshal Mortier, to destroy, to its foundation, the ancient palace of the czars. Meantime, winter, the most formidable ally of the Russians, was at hand. It appeared prompt and terrible, accompanied by all the terrors of the north, and involved the retreat, or rather the flight and route of the French army, in a complication of disasters unparalleled in history.

Before we take leave of Moscow, it may be proper to give, from official sources, some account of the loss sustained by the destruction of the capital. Of about 3000 stone houses, there remained only 525; and of 6,900 wooden edifices, only 1797. The total loss of the city and government of Moscow, by fire and pillage,

was estimated at three hundred and twenty-one millions of rubles. The government appointed a committee of indemnity, but many proprietors, whose losses had been the greatest, did not present any statement of them. Thus the loss of the two Counts Razumowski, General Apravin, and Count Boutourlin, whose library, valued at a million, was entirely consumed, and of Count Rostopschin in houses and furniture, was five millions. Since the deliverance of the country, the Russians have laboured so diligently in the restoration of Moscow, that it has arisen from its ashes finer than before; above a year ago it was as populous as ever, containing nearly 12,000 houses, 7,000 shops, and above 300,000 inhabitants: the public buildings have been rebuilt with more magnificence and regularity, (the Kremlin, for instance, at the expense of 20,000 pounds) and the academies as well as the university and its collections restored. In commemoration of the recent fortunes of the city, the emperor on the 24th of October 1817, the anniversary of its

deliverance, laid the first stone of a new Church, that of the Redeemer, which will be the largest temple in Christendom. It is, we believe, now completed, and adorned with a collosal statue of our Saviour, executed by the celebrated sculptor Dannecker of Stutgard, by command of her majesty, the Empress Maria.[10]

We shall not follow in detail this fatal retreat, the disasters of which were increased by the total failure of resources, which inexcusable want of foresight had neglected to provide: they have been recently described by other writers who have left little to be said upon the subject; and besides they perhaps belong to the history of France, rather than to that of Russia. But we must remark the character which the Russian nation and its sovereign displayed in this memorable contest. The loss of the Russians was equal to that of the French, both by battle and by the climate, for this very severe winter is said to have affected them almost as much as it did the French. Yet their firmness never

abandoned them, and Napoleon himself has done them ample justice, in the memoirs published under his name. As for the results, Russia derived great advantage from this campaign, if we compare it with the fate which was reserved for it, if Napoleon had succeeded. Its capital had been consumed with immense riches, several of its provinces had been laid waste with unparalleled fury; above 200,000 regular troops had perished. But all these misfortunes, reparable by time and industry, had a real compensation, in having developed the resources of the empire, and electrified the spirit of the people; in having demonstrated that if Russia is not secure from invasion, notwithstanding its remoteness, that if its armies may be vanquished, in spite of the courage and the fanatic devotedness of the troops, it is invincible by the nature of its climate.

Napoleon was not acquainted with Russia, and had been ill-informed on points of high importance; but especially he had completely

deceived himself with respect to the character of his illustrious adversary. The Emperor Alexander, not dazzled by the splendour of military success which had hitherto been so extraordinary, opposed unalterable firmness to his first reverses, contented to learn how to conquer, even from his defeats, and made a vow as a sovereign and a man never to treat with Bonaparte, while there was an armed enemy in his country. Napoleon, on the point of leaving Moscow, desired peace, at any rate, and sent General Lauriston for the last time to Kutusoff to obtain from that general a safe conduct to go to St. Petersburg; but this negociation failed. The Russian general, aware of the inflexible resolution of his sovereign, sought only to gain time till the frost should set in. In fact a severe cold was felt in the beginning of November, and the retreat could only be made amidst the ice and snow. The French army, destitute of subsistence, was obliged to fight every day and every hour. Exhausted by a cold of 23°, by want and continual marches,

they reached the banks of the Beresina, still numbering about 80,000 men. Since the army left Moscow, 150,000 had perished, and the remainder was only saved by the intrepidity and skill of Marshal Ney; 20,000 French perished in the Beresina, and in the marshes on its banks, and 17 or 18,000 were taken prisoners. The poor remains of the army at length reached the banks of the Niemen, which they passed on the 16th of December; 450,000 had crossed that river *six months* before, and it may be affirmed from official data, that Napoleon had sacrificed at least 300,000 men in this campaign. The accounts published by the Russian government stated that 225,000 of the enemy's dead had been burned in three of the provinces of Moscow, Witepsk, and Smolensk: this mode of disposing of them, having been judged the safest to prevent the infection which would have been caused, when the winter was over.

The Russians lost no time in following up their advantages. Alexander joined his army

at Wilnau, and by his example encouraged his subjects to support privations, cold, and fatigue. His presence and his affability exalted the enthusiasm of the Russian nation. He himself issued the orders for the formation of hospitals, applied, with indefatigable ardour to the reorganisation of the corps which had been thrown into disorder by the war, and communicated his own enthusiasm to all the parts of his vast empire. The nation, touched by so noble an example, by this paternal solicitude, answered by immense sacrifices, to the call of its sovereign. Voluntary contributions of men and money were furnished by the nobility. The whole empire resounded with shouts of victory and hymns of gratitude, and when the enemy had entirely vanished from its territory, it rose, in its turn, to invade that of its adversaries. A swarm of Cossacks, loaded with immense booty, poured, like a torrent, from the banks of the Don. The young and the old, every one who had strength to carry a lance, came with the reinforcements to join the army.

Meantime, European diplomacy hastened to profit by the misfortunes of Napoleon, and his doubtful allies abandoned his fortune, which had received a mortal wound in the north and the south at the same time. General York, who commanded the Prussian auxiliary corps, signed on the 30th of December a convention of neutrality with the Russian General Diebitsch which prevented Murat, whom Napoleon had left to command the remains of the grand army, from retaining the line of the Niemen, and even from keeping the positions behind the Vistula. Soon all Poland was evacuated, and Germany, where so many animosities fomented, where so many slumbering hopes had been awakened, was to become again the theatre of war.

CHAPTER X.

1813.—The capitulation of General York decided the fate of the remains of the great French army on the other side of the Vistula, and though the King of Prussia, outwardly showed great indignation, it might easily be presumed that he could not, really, be displeased with the general, who had undoubtedly saved the flower of the Prussian army; but the king was still in the power of the eleventh corps of the French army, under Marshal Augereau, which occupied Berlin. But had General York even acted by the command of his sovereign, it must be owned that no power had ever more legitimate and honourable reasons than Prussia, for violating its treaties. Napoleon had imposed upon it every sort of humiliation, he had exercised in Prussia every act of despotism, which

can exasperate a nation. The appeal made to Europe, by Alexander, could not fail to be listened to by all men of independent minds, and all princes who had still some dignity remaining. Accordingly, in proportion as the Russian armies advanced into Germany, all those alliances, which ambition, interest, and weakness had contracted with the cabinet of the Tuileries were dissolved: the Crown Prince of Sweden (Bernadotte) landed on the 14th of April in Mecklenburg, and fixed his head-quarters at Rostock. Prussia joined Russia by a declaration of the 13th of March, and on the 31st published its manifesto against France. Austria still preserved the semblance of an ally, but the cabinet of Vienna was already treating with England and Russia, which called upon the Germans to shake off the yoke; and in the month of March 80,000 Russians and 60,000 Prussians crossed the Elbe, near Wittenberg and Dresden.

Napoleon, who had abandoned his army at

Smorgonie on the 5th of December 1812, had arrived at Paris on the 20th of the same month. Having obtained from the senate a new army, he left Paris on the 5th of April 1813, and proceeding directly to Saxony, found himself at the head of 250,000 men; but nearly a fourth part of these troops were Germans of Saxony, Westphalia, or Bavaria, whose sentiments were at least doubtful; all the rest who came from France were young and inexperienced, for the veteran soldiers had perished, and the cavalry in particular was very weak. On the 2nd of May he gained the hard-fought battle of Lützen, and on the 21st that of Bautzen. The result of these advantages was the successive occupation of Dresden, Hamburgh, and Breslau, and lastly, the armistice of Plesswitz in Silesia concluded on the 4th of June. Napoleon by accepting this armistice consented that the interests of Germany, and of the French empire, should be discussed in a congress at Prague, which was opened on the 10th of July. The allies on their side hoped

that all Germany, Holland, Switzerland, the Tyrol, Italy, and the south of Europe, would seize the first opportunity to join the coalition. They particularly wished to gain Austria, and Napoleon having declined, even to write a conciliatory note to his father-in-law, a treaty of alliance between Austria, Russia, and Prussia, was signed at Prague, and hostilities soon after recommenced.

On the 26th and 27th of August, Napoleon was obliged to fight a battle before Dresden, in which the allied armies suffered considerable loss, the Austrians alone having had above 20,000 taken prisoners. It was in this battle that General Moreau, who had arrived at the head-quarters of the allies, on the 16th of August, was mortally wounded, by the side of the Emperor Alexander. But Napoleon's victory was not complete, the allies having effected their retreat.

Alexander was much affected by the death

of General Moreau, whom he always treated with so much distinction, that the latter could never speak without enthusiasm of that august sovereign, and hearing one of his generals call him the best of princes, he replied with vivacity, "*How, sir, say rather the best of men.*"

During the whole of the night of the 1st of September, General Moreau was uneasy as to his fate, though he did not seem to suffer. At length, about seven o'clock in the morning, Mr. de Svinine, his secretary, being alone with him, he dictated to him the following lines, addressed to the emperor.

"Sire!

"I go down to the grave, with the same sentiments of admiration, respect, and attachment, for your majesty, with which I was inspired in the first moment of our interview."

He then closed his eyes, M. de Svinine,

thought that he was considering what to dictate, and held his pen in readiness to continue —but, alas! he was no more!

The following letter to the widow of Moreau, does equal honour to all the parties concerned:—

"MADAM,

"When the dreadful misfortune, which befel General Moreau at my side, deprived me of the abilities and experience of this great man, I conceived a hope that by careful treatment he might be preserved to his family, and my friendship. Providence has ordained otherwise. He died as he lived, with the firmness of a strong mind.

"There is only one remedy for the great afflictions of life, namely, the compassion which others feel for them. In Russia, Madam, you will ever meet with these sentiments; and if it

should be agreeable to you to fix your abode there, I would do every thing in my power to render happy, the life of a person to whom I consider it as a sacred duty to offer consolation and support. I beg you, madam, to depend implicitly upon me, to make me acquainted with every occasion on which I may be useful to you, and to write directly to myself. I shall esteem myself happy to anticipate your wishes. The friendship which I bore to your husband extends beyond the tomb, and I have no other means of discharging, at least in part, my debt to him, than by doing some good to his family.

"Receive, Madam, on this mournful and cruel occasion, these testimonies of friendship, and the assurance of my sincere interest in your welfare.

ALEXANDER."

Independently of the esteem which Alexander felt for Moreau he was particularly affected

by the remarkable manner of his death. In the retreat of the 27th, while riding through a narrow path, bounded by a marsh, he checked his horse, and drew up, to let the emperor pass. At that instant, a ball was fired from a cross battery, of which they were not aware, this shattered one of his legs, and, passing through the horse, fractured also the other leg. He fell into the marsh, exclaiming " C'est fini!" He bore the amputation with firmness, and was conveyed over the mountains to Laun, where he died.

M. de Svinine repaired immediately to Töplitz, with the melancholy intelligence, and on his arrival found Alexander, accompanied by the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, attending the *Te Deum*, which was chaunted in celebration of the last victories gained over Buonaparte. He waited the conclusion of the ceremony, when he informed the emperor of the death of Moreau. His majesty greatly affected

took his hand saying: "He was a great man, and had a truly noble heart!"

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, having considered the magnanimous exertions of the emperor, for the deliverance of the Continent of Europe from French domination; the personal intrepidity manifested by his imperial majesty, in several great battles with the enemy; and the splendour which had in consequence surrounded his name and character, became desirous of cementing the alliance and friendship subsisting between the two crowns, by admitting the emperor into the order of the garter; and his majesty was accordingly elected a knight companion, in a chapter held on the 27th of July, 1813. A commission was immediately after prepared for delivering to and investing the emperor with the ensigns of the order.

As almost the whole of Germany was in the

possession of the French, the commissioners proceeded, in the first instance, to Gothenburg and thence to Stralsund, where they landed. They found that town partly garrisoned by English troops, and learned that hostilities had been renewed, so that it was uncertain whether they could continue their journey in safety. They however reached Berlin, where they were detained nearly three weeks, till the Crown Prince of Sweden having defeated the French, at Dennewitz, they were able to proceed, taking however a circuitous route through Silesia, during which they were more than once in considerable danger of falling in with the French.

The commissioners reached the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns at Töplitz, in Bohemia, on the 27th September following, being the anniversary of the emperor's coronation: and, the requisite arrangements having been made for observing the accustomed ceremonies, as fully as circumstances would permit, the investiture took place on the

evening of that day, in the presence of the Grand Duke Constantine, and the great officers of the imperial court.

On the following day, the emperor gave a grand dinner to the commissioners, the English ministers resident at the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns, the members of their respective embassies, the gentlemen of the garter mission, and several Russian and English persons of distinction.

After the battle of Dresden, Napoleon felt the necessity of giving up that position, and drawing nearer to the frontiers of France; but it was too late. His forces had been scattered in Prussia, Bohemia, and Silesia, where they had sustained considerable defeats. On the 18th of October, he was compelled to fight under the walls of Leipsig, that memorable and sanguinary battle, the consequence of which, was the deliverance of Germany from the French yoke. It was in the heat of this battle,

that the Saxon and Würtemberg allies, to the amount of thirty battalions, quitted the French army in a body, and went over to the Crown Prince of Sweden, and immediately attacked the French.

On the morning of the 19th, the magistrates of Leipsig obtained permission to send a deputation to Prince Schwartzenberg, commander-in-chief of the allied armies, to beg him to spare the city. Napoleon went with Murat, to take leave of the King of Saxony, who had remained faithful to him to the last; and to whom he could offer no better advice than that he should shift for himself as well as he could. An officer had been sent to the Emperor Alexander, to propose a capitulation. Both he and the deputation returned without having obtained their object. The Emperor of Russia, who, together with the King of Prussia, was upon an eminence, about 500 paces from Leipsig, answered, "that after what the King of Saxony had done to injure the allies, they were not disposed to give credit to

his words, and still less to grant his proposal, to allow the French four hours' time to march out: not a minute should be granted to them; but the inhabitants, and the German troops, should be spared, if they took no part in the defence of Leipsig." This determination was loudly cheered by the troops, who immediately marched to attack the city. The French having retreated, blew up the bridge as soon as Napoleon had passed it, by which many thousands of their army were abandoned to the enemy, or drowned in attempting to swim across the river: among the latter was the brave Polish Prince Poniatowsky. At noon, the allies were masters of the city, and at one o'clock, the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and soon after the Emperor of Austria, arrived with a numerous suite of the most distinguished generals, Schwartzenberg, Blucher, Barclay de Tolly, Bulow, Platof, &c., they were welcomed by the people and the troops, with the most joyful acclamations.

Napoleon, after having lost the half of his army, hastened his retreat towards the Rhine, but did not reach the banks of that river till he had sustained at Hanau, on the 30th of October, a severe check. The Bavarian General Wrede, on a treaty being concluded between his sovereign and Austria, had on the 26th taken the command of an Austrian and Bavarian army of 60,000 men, with which he endeavoured to intercept the retreat of the French army to the Rhine. In this battle, the French had 20,000 men killed or wounded, but they succeeded in cutting their way through. The loss of the Bavarians was nearly equal, and General Wrede himself was severely wounded. This was the last battle that Napoleon was to fight in Germany: a new campaign, and new disasters awaited him on the other side of the Rhine, on the territory of France itself.

The consequence of these events is well known; all the fortresses in Germany, held by French garrisons, fell successively into the

hands of the allies. Holland was evacuated, and the combined armies advanced towards the Rhine. In the south, fortune was equally unpropitious to the French colours; the whole of the Spanish peninsula was lost, and Marshal Soult, obliged to retreat before the Duke of Wellington, had repassed the Bidassoa.

In this state of things the allied sovereigns, by a declaration which they issued at Francfort, stated that they did not make war against France but against Napoleon, that it was their desire that France should be strong, happy, and more powerful than under its ancient kings. At the end of December 120,000 men, commanded by Prince Schwartzenberg, passed the Rhine, between Bâle and Schaffhausen, notwithstanding the neutrality of Switzerland, on which Napoleon seems to have depended. The Silesian army, under the command of General Blucher, passed the Rhine at the same time, between Mannheim and Coblentz, and the plains of Champagne became the theatre of war. In this campaign

of three months, where not a day passed without a battle, Napoleon, by the admission of his enemies, displayed military talents of the highest order. On the 24th of February, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia met at Chaumont, where they signed a declaration, announcing their intentions; on the 1st of March, in concert with the British cabinet, they published the treaty, by which the coalition engaged to keep on foot an army of 150,000 men, and to employ all the resources of their dominions, in prosecuting the war against France till the conclusion of a general peace, under the protection of which, the rights and liberties of all nations might be established and secured.

It was not till this time that the hopes of the partisans of the house of Bourbon began to revive. The first symptoms of royalism attempted to manifest themselves at Troyes on the 24th of February; the allied sovereigns had not expressed the smallest interest in favour of the house of Bourbon. In all their proclama-

tions, they showed the greatest respect for the rights of the people. The French turned their eyes towards the Emperor Alexander, on whose magnanimity they placed all their hopes. That monarch showed himself the best and most affable of men; he gained all those hearts which Napoleon had alienated: the gracefulness of his manners, the frankness of his language, the readiness and the justice with which he attended to every complaint made to him, and the strict discipline observed by his troops, greatly contributed to the success of the allies. After the battles of Arcis-sur Aube, on the 21st and 22nd of March, and Fère-Champenoise on the 25th, they resolved to march to Paris, while Napoleon, pursued and harrassed by 10,000 Russian cavalry, arrived at St. Dizier, where he intended to join some reinforcements that came from Metz. He thought that the enemy was following him, when he learned that the mass of the allied forces was under the walls of Paris. It is not exactly known, by whose advice the allies took this resolution, which

decided the success of the war, and the fate of Napoleon; who, as soon as he was sensible of his mistake, thought of returning, but notwithstanding the celerity of his march, he could not arrive in time. The Empress Maria Louisa had left Paris on the 29th of March; the allied armies were at the gates on the 30th, in the morning, and 150,000 men attacked the city, which had no defence but the courage of its inhabitants: the national guard made a vigorous resistance, and after ten hours fighting, a capitulation was proposed at half past five in the evening by Marshal Marmont, and readily accepted and signed by the allied sovereigns.

At seven o'clock Napoleon arrived on the heights of Ville Juif, where he learned that the capitulation was signed, upon which he turned back and went to Fontainbleau. On the 31st of March, at noon, the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and Prince Schwartzenberg, made their entry into Paris.

An immense concourse of people crowded all the Boulevards, by which the allied armies were to pass. The balconies, and the windows, were thronged with spectators, particularly females. Early in the morning the cavalry and the guards, under the command of the Grand Duke Constantine, were drawn up in columns, on the road from Bondy to Paris, and the sovereigns met at Pantin. Here they received the deputation of the mayors of Paris.

The two monarchs, accompanied by a great number of princes and generals, passed through the barriers of Paris to the Fauxbourg St. Martin. The cossacks of the guard led the van, the infantry marched thirty, and the cavalry fifteen abreast, the bands playing, and colours flying. Above 50,000 men passed along the northern boulevard, and through the Place Louis XV. to the Elysian Fields, while other columns proceeded over the outer boulevard, along the walls of Paris, to their cantonments in the en-

virons. In the Elysian Fields the sovereigns halted, to see the troops file off in parade. The march continued several hours, and opened the eyes of the Parisians to the falsehoods with which Napoleon had deceived them, respecting the force and the condition of the allied armies.

The royalists pressed round the monarchs and recommended to them the wishes of France. The fickle mob huzzaed the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, as they would have done Napoleon, if he had returned victorious. The women waved handkerchiefs and scattered flowers, to crown the conquerors, whom, however, they despised in their hearts, as stupid Russian and German brutes. Among these huzzaing thousands, there were not perhaps an hundred individuals, who were actuated by the pure, genuine, sincere feelings of their hearts. The Emperor of Russia was however particularly the object of the attention of the people, and returned their greetings with the most engaging affability, saying to the immense

crowd which surrounded him "I do not come as an enemy; I bring you peace and commerce."

As he passed the famous column in the Place Vendôme on which a statue of Buonaparte stood, he said, smiling, "It is no wonder a man's head should become giddy, when he stands at such a height."

Somebody saying to him, "Your arrival has long been expected and wished for at Paris." He replied, "I would have come sooner; attribute my delay only to French valour." Meantime cabal was not idle.

While Count Nesselrode, by the advice of Talleyrand, drew up the declaration of the allied monarchs, that they would no more treat with Napoleon, a great circle of nobles and royalists assembled in the Fauxbourg Saint Honoré, under the direction of Ferrand, Rochefoucault, and Chateaubriand, to draw up addresses to the monarchs, soliciting them to

expel Napoleon for ever, and to re-establish the Bourbons on the throne of France. The deputation set out, and Count Nesselrode at least gave the assurance, that they would not treat with Napoleon. But if we may believe the Abbé de Pradt, and his assertions have not yet been contradicted, the Emperor of Russia himself was very far from believing it to be the general wish, and desire of the French nation to see the ancient dynasty restored: for such a desire had been manifested in hardly any of the provinces through which the allied armies had marched. A declaration of the Emperor Alexander, published immediately on his entrance into Paris, confirmed the pacific assurances expressed in the proclamation of the commander in-chief, Prince Schwartzenberg, adding however that the allied sovereigns would no more treat with Napoleon Buonaparte, *or any member of his family*; this latter part had not been so clearly stated the preceding day.

The Emperor of Russia took up his residence

in the palace of Talleyrand. This old minister had received orders to follow the empress to the Loire, but he caused himself to be stopped at the barrier, and brought back to Paris, to receive the allies. A provisional government having been formed, by a decree of the senate of the first of April, it was resolved, after various negociations and intrigues, to re-establish the house of Bourbon on the throne. On the 2nd of April, Buonaparte was deprived of the crown by a decree of the senate, and on the 11th he signed the act of his abdication, by which he agreed to renounce the throne, stipulating only for the title of emperor, the full sovereignty of the isle of Elba, a revenue of two millions of francs, &c., all which was readily granted him. Under these circumstances the war was at an end; an armistice with all the French generals was concluded on the 9th of April, and a promise given, that the allied armies should leave France as soon as possible. Most of the fortresses, beyond the ancient boundaries of France, opened their gates, and

those within them submitted to Louis XVIII. The one who held out the longest was Davoust, who did not leave till the 29th of May, the city of Hamburg, which had suffered so cruelly under his tyranny. The capitulation of Paris decided also the fate of Italy, where, however, nothing very decisive had taken place. An armistice was concluded on the 16th of April, and Prince Eugene, the viceroy of Italy, gave up the command of his troops to Count Bellegarde, and repaired to Paris.

During the time that Alexander remained in Paris, he viewed all the public institutions and establishments, as if he had had no other object in his visit to the capital. He received, with the greatest affability, deputations from various learned bodies, his answers to which were marked by great frankness, and by the most flattering expressions of his esteem for the French nation. On the 2nd of April he gave an audience to the senate, and having received the compliments of that body, said, "A man,

who called himself my ally, entered my dominions, like an unjust aggressor; it is against him I have made war, and not against France; I am the friend of the French people. What you have just done, increases this sentiment: it is just, it is wise, to give to France strong and liberal institutions, which are adapted to this enlightened age. My allies and myself come only to protect the liberty of your decisions!"

The emperor paused a moment, and then resumed with emotion: "As a proof of the lasting alliance which I desire to make with your nation, I restore to it all the French prisoners, now in Russia. The provisional government had asked me for this favour: I grant it to the senate, in consequence of the resolutions which it has this day taken."

The next day Alexander visited the *Jardin des Plantes*. On coming out, he crossed the bridge of Austerlitz, accompanied by only two officers. Stopping a few minutes, he turned to

the crowd which surrounded him, and said, "My friends rejoice, Buonaparte has ceased to oppress you. In a week you will have your king and peace."

The following is the answer which he returned to M. de Lacretelle, who waited upon him at the head of a deputation of the institute of France: "I have always admired the progress which the French have made in the sciences and literature. They have greatly contributed to diffuse knowledge over Europe. I do not impute to them the misfortunes of their country, and I feel a lively interest in the re-establishment of their liberty. To be serviceable to mankind, is the sole object of my conduct, and the only motive which has brought me to France."

The emperor went to the most celebrated banking-house at Paris, and, asking for M. Lafitte, who did not know him, said—"I have wished, sir, to be acquainted with you;

I am Alexander, and desire the pleasure of breakfasting with you."

When visiting the institution of Madame Campan, at Ecouen, Alexander observed, that if the allied armies had been obliged to remain four days longer in the plains of St. Denis their ammunition would certainly have been exhausted.

Meantime, Louis XVIII. left England, where he had so long lived in obscurity, and landed on the 25th of April at Calais, with the Duchess of Angouleme, the old Prince of Condé, and his son the Duke of Bourbon. They were welcomed with the most extravagant acclamations, which accompanied him all the way to Compiegne, where he arrived on the 27th of April, and was received by several of the marshals. There was no want of flattering compliments and affecting phrases. But though Louis in his answers, proved that he was a Frenchman, who perfectly understood the cha-

racter of his nation, he must have despised in his heart, the meanness of these satellites of the usurper. Numerous deputations from Paris waited upon him at Compiegne, each of which gave occasion to a similar comedy. Alexander paid him a visit there, on the 30th April, in a very plain carriage, accompanied only by General Czernitscheff, and a single servant: he slept soundly on the journey, feeling himself as perfectly safe on the high road in France, as if he had been in St. Petersburg. The French were extremely pleased with this circumstance, which was, in their eyes, a flattering proof of the emperor's confidence in them.

Another circumstance which gratified the Parisians, was the attention that Alexander paid to the Empress Josephine. He had a great esteem for her, and did her the honour of dining with her more than once at the palace of Malmaison.

When he learned that she was on the point of

sinking under the rapid and cruel disease, of which he saw the symptoms some days before, he repaired immediately to Malmaison, and asked to see her. She seemed to recover a little when she saw him. Deeply affected by the scene before her, she looked at him with an air of gratitude: Prince Eugene, on his knees, was receiving the benediction of his mother, as well as Queen Hortensia, who was in a situation, which it is impossible to describe. "At least," said Josephine, with a voice almost expiring, "I shall die regretted. I have always desired the welfare of France; I have done all in my power to contribute to it, and I can say with truth to you, who are present at my last moments, that the first wife of Napoleon Buonaparte, never caused a tear to be shed." These were her last words. Alexander shewed the most sincere sorrow, his eyes remained fixed on the mortal remains of the wife of a man who was proscribed and unfortunate; the young hero, honoured by his presence, the last moments of a woman so universally regretted.

He withdrew, much affected, and returned some hours after; approaching the coffin, he lifted up the shroud, which already covered her, and with his eyes bathed in tears, took a final leave of her, saying, "She is dead, and leaves an eternal regret in the heart of her friends, and of all those who have known her."

Accompanied by the King of Prussia, General Sacken, and several other generals of distinction, he attended the funeral to the little church of the village.

On the 8th of May, Alexander, accompanied by his two brothers and the King of Prussia, visited Versailles. He wished to testify his gratitude to the inhabitants, for the care they had taken of the wounded Russians, and wrote the following letter to the mayor:—

"I have been informed, sir, of the zealous, kind, and constant attention, paid at Versailles to the wounded of my armies. I am very sen-

sible to a zeal, which does honour to humanity. I besides, owe my thanks to yourself personally, and have wished to give you a particular proof of my esteem and my sentiments,

ALEXANDER."

In a visit which he paid to the mint, and especially that part of it where the medals are made, he was presented, among others, that were struck in his presence, with an ancient medal, engraved on the occasion of the visit of Peter the Great, to the capital of France. On one side is the head of the Regent, and on the other the figure of the Czar, and that of Louis XV. yet a child: with the following inscription *Petri Russorum Autocratoris cum rege congressio.* MDCCXVII.

This medal puts us in mind of a curious anecdote. When the Czar Peter went to see Louis XV. he did not know what was the etiquette to be observed towards a king, who was

scarcely eight years old. Following the impulse of his heart, and to remove all difficulties, he took the young monarch in his arms, and kissed him.

In one of the apartments the director had the honour to present him a medal, which had on one side the head of the Czar Peter, and on the other his own portrait. His majesty examined with particular interest, the numerous collections in the cabinet of Dies, which presents the series of the most memorable events that have happened in France since the time of Louis XII. "I take great pleasure," said the emperor, "in seeing these archives of the most civilised ages of France, and I am sensible how important it is for a powerful nation to possess a history which speaks to the eyes, and is, as it were, always living."

When he visited the palace Tuileries, the Hall of Peace was shown him. "Of what use," said he, "was this hall to Buonaparte."

On entering the gallery of the Museum, Alexander was extremely struck with the fine coup d'œil of that unequalled collection, and exclaimed: "It will take ten days to see such a beautiful collection!" and having observed that several pictures had been carried away, doubtless to preserve them, in the first confusion, he said: "My intentions would have been very ill-judged of, if the smallest fear had been entertained for the safety of the museum."

The celebrated Madam de Staël, who was in London when the Allies entered Paris, immediately returned to France, and was received in the most gracious manner by the allied sovereigns. The Emperor of Russia conversing with her on the difficulties which opposed the introduction of a constitution into Russia, she replied, "Sire, your character is a constitution."

On the 3rd of May, Louis XVIII. made his solemn entry into Paris, and to avoid giving any offence to the pride of the Parisians, he

was not accompanied by the allied sovereigns, or any of their troops. Even in the cathedral, the King of Prussia, mingled, without distinction, in the crowd of spectators: only the Grand Duke Constantine was present, in full uniform, with his whole staff. On the 5th. Prince Schwartzenberg resigned the chief command, and the allied armies began to return rapidly towards the Rhine. On the 10th the king issued a proclamation, assuring the people, that all the military contributions imposed by the allied troops, should cease. Indeed the allied monarchs were so condescending, that Baron Stein, who was at the head of the central administration, published a declaration on the 9th, that all the provinces given up to the allies by the armistice, should be immediately placed under commissioners, appointed by the king, as far as the civil administration was concerned.

Yet the hearts of the vain French overflowed with ill-suppressed rage, at the presence of the

foreign troops whom they would by no means acknowledge as their conquerors. The removal of the trophies, colours, &c., from the Hotel des Invalides, deeply wounded the military pride of the French soldiers. Secret murders and continual duels, were the order of the day, notwithstanding the vigorous measures, adopted by General Sacken, Governor of Paris, to maintain order and tranquillity. Meantime negociations were carried on with great activity, and on the 30th May, was concluded the celebrated peace of Paris, between Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia on the one side, and France on the other. About the same time Alexander left Paris, having by his co-operation in restoring the family of the Bourbons to the throne, realised the hope expressed by De Lille at the conclusion of his celebrated poem "Le Malheur et la Pieté," where after commemorating the marriage of the Duke and Duchess d'Angouleme, which took place at Mietau, in Courland, on the 10th of July 1799, he addresses Alexander in the following beautiful lines:—

C'est ton heureux pays qui vit former leurs chaînes,
Toi, qui du nord charmé viens de saisir les rênes,
Jeune et digne héritier de l'empire des czars !
Sur toi le monde entier a fixé ses regards.
Quels prodiges nouveaux vont signaler ta course !
Tel que l'astre du nord, le char brillant de l'ourse,
Toujours visible aux yeux dans ton climat glacé,
Comme un phare éternel par les dieux fut placé.
Ton regard vigilant, du fond du pôle arctique,
Sans cesse éclairera l'horizon politique.
Ta sagesse saura combien est dangereux
Le succès corrupteur des attentats heureux.
Oui, tu protégeras ce prince déplorable,
Que relève à tes yeux une chute honorable ;
Qui, d'un œil paternel pleurant des fils ingrats,
L'olive dans la main en vain leur tend les bras.
Quel malheur plus touchant, quelle cause plus juste
Reclament le secours de ta puissance auguste ?
Souviens-toi de ton nom : Alexandre autrefois
Fit monter un vieillard sur le trône des rois.
Sur le front de Louis tu mettras la couronne :
Le sceptre le plus beau c'est celui que l'on donne.

On the 4th of June, Alexander arrived at Boulogne where the English squadron commanded by the Duke of Clarence was in sight.

His royal highness landed to pay a visit to the emperor. The following day Alexander went to view the port, whence he repaired to the site of Buonaparte's camp at Boulogne. As he was on foot, a crowd of persons surrounded him, whom his attendants several times, attempted to keep off, but the emperor forbid it, saying, "Let every body approach me, no Frenchman, will ever be troublesome to me." At four o'clock the King of Prussia arrived. The Emperor immediately went to see him; and they passed some time together. The two sovereigns embarked on the 6th of June, and arriving on the 7th at Calais, went on board the royal yachts of his Britannic majesty. The English squadron was commanded by his royal highness the Duke of Clarence.

CHAPTER XI.

It was at six o'clock in the evening of the 7th of June that the royal visitors landed at Dover, where they were received with a salute of artillery, and the joyful acclamations of immense multitudes. His royal highness the Prince Regent had appointed Lords Yarmouth, Bentinck, and Roslyn to attend on the sovereigns. The rejoicings continued the whole night, and even increased at day break, for which reason the two monarchs resolved to proceed to London as privately as possible; Alexander in the carriage of his ambassador, and Frederic William in one of the stage coaches.

But the burden of the most joyful reception had fallen, at Dover, on the veteran Blücher.

Amidst the incessant cries of "Blücher for ever" he was carried to the inn. Men and women embraced and kissed him, begged a piece of his great coat for a relic, besieged and pressed him in such a manner, that with tears of joy in his eyes, he exclaimed, "I sink under the honour that is shown me." The following day he proceeded to London.

At six o'clock Marshal Blücher arrived in St. James's Park, by the Horse Guards, in the Prince Regent's open carriage, escorted by a party of light horse. The drivers, as directed, made first for Carlton House. No sooner were the stable gates opened than there was a general rush of the horsemen and the public at large. All restraint upon them was in vain; the two sentinels at the gates with their muskets, were laid on the ground; the porter was completely overpowered, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he could shut the gates. The multitude proceeded up the yard of Carlton House,

with the general's carriage, shouting the praises of Blücher. Colonels Bloomfield and Congreve came out, dressed in full regimentals, received the general uncovered, and conducted him to the principal entrance of Carlton House. The crowd assembled in Pall Mall, instantly scaled the walls and lodges in great numbers; their impetuous zeal upon this occasion was indulged, and the great doors of the hall were thrown open to them, and some of the horsemen had nearly entered the hall. After the first interview of the general with the prince, a very interesting scene took place. The Prince Regent returned with the gallant Blücher, from his private apartments, and in the centre of the grand hall, surrounded by the people, placed a blue ribbon on his shoulder, fastening it with his own hand, to which was hung a beautiful medallion, with a likeness of the prince, richly set with diamonds. Marshal Blücher knelt, while the prince was conferring this honour, and, on his rising, kissed the prince's hand. The prince and the general

bowed to the public, whose acclamations in return exceeded description.

While this was passing, the King of Prussia had arrived at the residence of the Duke of Clarence, and the Emperor Alexander, at the Pulteney Hotel, where his sister, the Grand Duchess of Oldenburg, who had arrived in England at the end of March, met him on the stairs. They saluted each other in the most affectionate manner. Lord Morton, the queen's chamberlain, waited upon the emperor, in the name of the queen, to express her congratulations on his arrival in England.

At half-past four o'clock the emperor went in Count Lieven's carriage, accompanied by his excellency, to see the Prince Regent, at Carlton House. He was received in a very private manner, by the Prince Regent, who gave his majesty a most cordial reception. The King of Prussia came in the same private manner, and was received by his royal highness

the Prince Regent as the Emperor of Russia had been.

Illuminations, more splendid perhaps than were ever before witnessed in the metropolis, took place on this and the two following evenings. On the 9th, was one of the most brilliant courts ever held at Carlton House. All the royal dukes, the Duchess of York, and several noblemen came in state. Besides the two sovereigns, there were many foreign princes, and a great number of the most distinguished officers of the allied armies. The King of Prussia arrived first, with his sons. At a quarter past three the Emperor of Russia came in state, in the Regent's carriage, escorted by a party of the Bays. His majesty was dressed in an English uniform, and wore the order of the garter. He was met at the door of Carlton House by the Prince Regent, who conducted him to his closet, where they were dressed in the robes of the garter.

A procession, consisting of a great number of knights of the garter, was formed from the closet to the chapter room. Then walked the Prince Regent, having on his right hand the Emperor Alexander, wearing his mantle and collar. The Prince Regent's train was held by Sir William Keppel, groom in waiting; and the Emperor of Russia's by the Earl of Yarmouth. The Prince Regent took his seat on the throne, having on his right hand a chair of state, in which the Emperor was placed, and a vacant chair on his left for the King of Prussia.

The chancellor then, by his royal highness's direction, read a new statute, whereby, after complimenting the King of Prussia, upon the heroism, military skill, and personal intrepidity, which had created the just admiration of Germany during the late contest, now auspiciously terminated in the blessings of peace, the king was declared elected a knight of the garter. His majesty was then introduced to

the chapter, between the Dukes of York and Kent, and was invested with the insignia of the order. His majesty received the accolade from the Prince Regent, and afterwards from all the royal knights and others, and was seated in a chair of state. The chancellor then read a statute, declaring the resolution of the Prince Regent to elect the Emperor of Austria also a knight of the order.

Among the English noblemen presented to the Emperor of Russia, was Lord Erskine, to whom his majesty gave a letter, which he had promised to deliver with his own hand. "It is," said he, "from my friend and preceptor, M. de Laharpe, to whom I owe the principles which shall serve as the guide of my heart and my mind during the whole of my life."

The Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the prince, accompanied by a number of persons of distinction, paid a visit to the University of Oxford on the 14th. They were

received on their entrance, in grand ceremony, by all the authorities, academic and civic, of the place: and in the evening, a sumptuous banquet was given to the illustrious guests, in the Radcliff Library, a place never before applied to such a purpose, but excellently adapted to it. A general illumination took place at night; and on the following day, the royal and noble party were received at the theatre, where degrees were conferred upon the emperor and the king, and some of the illustrious attendants, one of whom was the veteran Blücher. The emperor and king then went to the Town Hall, where they received the freedom of the city; after which they left Oxford for Woodstock and Blenheim.

On the return of the sovereigns to London, splendid entertainments were given in their honour. On the 17th, the merchants and bankers gave them a grand dinner at Merchant Taylors' Hall, at which the Duke of York presided; and on the following day a far more

magnificent banquet was given by the Lord Mayor and Corporation at Guildhall. The interior of which was, on this occasion, fitted up with a grandeur unequalled on any former occasion.

The City of London having presented an address to the emperor, he returned the following answer:—"I thank you for this obliging and flattering address. I have long desired to visit this country; and it is with particular satisfaction, that I am at present among you, when after a war full of glory, peace has been restored to Europe.—This peace, I am persuaded, will long constitute the happiness of mankind. Assure your fellow-citizens that the English nation has always had my esteem. Its conduct, during the long and perilous war in which we have been engaged, commands my admiration, as it commands the admiration of the whole world. I have been the faithful ally of Great Britain during the war, and I

desire to continue its devoted friend during peace."

During the visit of the sovereigns to London the anniversary of the assembly of the charity children at St. Paul's took place, and the Emperor of Russia went incognito to witness this interesting solemnity. He seemed very much struck and even affected, by the simple yet impressive grandeur of the scene. He paid the greatest attention throughout, and at the conclusion requested to be taken into the organ-loft, in order to enjoy the most advantageous view. "This," said he, pressing the hand of the reverend gentleman who had the honour of attending him, "is the most interesting and gratifying sight that I have ever met with."

On the 20th, a grand review of all the regular troops, and most of the volunteers, in and near the metropolis, took place in Hyde Park, before the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia,

and all the illustrious foreigners accompanying them, and of the Prince Regent, the Duke of York, &c.

The grandest and most appropriate spectacle presented to the royal visitants, in this country, was the naval review of eighty men of war at Portsmouth. The Prince Regent, who arrived first in the harbour, was received by the Duke of Clarence, eighty-nine admirals and captains, and ten thousand sailors. On the morning of the 23rd he embarked in the roads, with the sovereigns, attended by a splendid and numerous retinue. The procession was opened by the long boats of fifteen ships of the line; these were followed by the Lords of the Admiralty, in their barges. The Royal Sovereign yacht was decorated with the British flag, while the eagles of Russia and Prussia adorned the accompanying vessels. Countless boats followed. The sea was smooth as a mirror, and not a breath of air was stirring. The royal procession proceeded to the fleet an-

chored in a line in the outer road, each ship firing forty-two guns as the monarch passed.

Two days were employed in surveys of the harbour, of the vast naval establishments and stupendous machinery of that port. The concluding day, a fleet, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, and about as many frigates, formed a line in front of the Isle of Wight; and having received, with a general salute, the royal visitants on board, the Royal Sovereign yacht stood out to sea, and performed some of the manœuvres of a naval engagement. The whole was calculated to impress the illustrious strangers with the most lively ideas of the national power and greatness.

On the 27th, Alexander, with his sister the Duchess of Oldenburg, and the King of Prussia, with his two sons, embarked at Dover, on their return to the Continent, after a visit to this country, which appeared to have given them general satisfaction.

The emperor, having landed at Rotterdam, proceeded to the Hague and to Amsterdam, where, as at all the places through which he passed, he was received with every mark of honour and respect. Alexander hastening, made only a short stay in Holland, but did not omit to pay a visit to Saardam, to view the house in which Peter the Great resided. The house which that sovereign first entered on his arrival, August, 1697, was prepared for the reception of the emperor and the Prince of Orange, who accompanied him. The house was fitted up with Dutch neatness. In the parlour was a fine portrait of Peter the Great, in armour. The emperor and the prince were received by sixteen daughters of the magistrates, in the dress of Saardam. The illustrious visitors testified their satisfaction at their reception, and then went to the house of the Czar Peter, which had simply this inscription—"*To the great man nothing is too little.*" The emperor having visited the dock where Peter engaged himself as a workman, came to the house. The

prince led him in, and one could immediately see the impression which the immense contrast of the simple dwelling, with the power and splendour of its former inhabitant, and so many other recollections, could not fail to inspire. The prince requested the emperor to leave a memorial of this remarkable visit; and all having been prepared, Alexander, with a silver trowel, fixed in the chimney a square tablet of white marble, on which was inscribed, in golden letters, "*Petro Magno—Alexander.*"

On leaving Holland, Alexander proceeded directly to Carlsrushe, where he met his imperial consort, the Empress Elizabeth, who had been there for some time on a visit to her family. She did not return to St. Petersburg with him, and her absence from that capital is said, though we cannot vouch for the fact, to have been caused by jealousy of the emperor's attachment to a lady of the court, whom he was induced to send with her children to Paris.

It must be owned that it is scarcely possible to make it more difficult for a man to remain true to himself, than has been done with respect to Alexander. Flatterers attempted on every side to gain an influence over him, and the public journals of every place, which the emperor honoured with his presence, seemed to watch all his steps, in order to sound his praise, in every possible variety of courtly phraseology. Even the Russian senate attempted to intoxicate their excellent sovereign with clouds of incense, solemnly resolving to give him the surname of *The Blessed*, and really deputed three senators, Kurakin, Tormassoff, and Soltikoff, in the middle of May, from St. Petersburg, to convey this resolution to the emperor.

When this deputation was presented to him at Weimar, and begged him to accept the honorary title, and to allow a monument to be erected to him, Alexander replied, with that genuine modesty which can confer more honour than all titles, "I have always endeavoured to

give the nation the example of simplicity and modesty; I cannot accept the title offered to me, without deviating from my principles; and as for the monument, it is for posterity to erect one to me if they think me worthy of it."

At Carlsruhe he was joined by the empress his wife; he made however only a short stay in that city, but hastened to St. Petersburg. Before he entered that capital he addressed the following rescript to the governor; "Sergei Kosmitsch. I have been informed that various preparations are making for my reception. I have always disliked these things, and disapprove of them still more at the present moment. The events which have put an end to the sanguinary wars in Europe, are the work of the Almighty alone. Before him we must all kneel. Make known, this unalterable resolution, that no preparations, whatsoever, may be made to welcome me."

It was on the 25th of July, that Alexander

arrived at St. Petersburg, and repaired first to the cathedral of the Mother of God of Kasan, to return thanks to heaven. He then drove to the imperial winter palace, and thence to Kamennoyostroff, his usual summer residence. The people received him with joyful acclamations. On the following day solemn thanksgivings were put up in the cathedral of Kasan, at which the emperor, the Empress Maria, the Grand Duke Constantine, the Grand Duchess Anna, all the chief officers of state, the diplomatic body, and a great number of persons of distinction were present. The emperor went to the church on horseback, followed by multitudes of people of all ages, who with loud acclamations, crowded around their beloved sovereign, some raising their hands in gratitude to heaven, while old men, overpowered by their feelings, kissed the emperor's feet. The metropolitan, Ambrosius, accompanied by the archbishops and all the clergy, received the emperor in the church, and performed divine service. After prayers, *Te Deum* was

sung, accompanied by a salute of artillery, and the ringing of all the bells. The whole city, was splendidly illuminated on three successive nights.

Very soon after the emperor's return, Count Nesselrode was appointed minister of foreign affairs, in the place of Count Romanzoff, who was permitted to resign, on which occasion, he received a most gracious letter from the emperor, expressing his gratitude for his services, and his regret at parting with him. Count Romanzoff retired from public service, like a true patriot, renouncing not only the emoluments of his office, which the emperor had continued to him, but giving all the valuable presents, which he had received from foreign courts, to be disposed of for the benefit of the invalids, for which he again received the thanks of the emperor.

The following ukase, addressed to the Synod, the Council of the Empire, and the Directing

Senate, entirely expresses the sentiments which Alexander manifested on every occasion during his life:—

"The application made to me by the Holy Synod, the Council of the Empire, and the Directing Senate, respecting the erection of a monument to me in the capital, and the acceptance of the title of "the Blessed," gives me great pleasure, because I recognise in it, partly, the blessing of God that watches over us, and partly, the sentiments of the public bodies of the Russian empire, who give me the most flattering name. My whole efforts are directed to implore by fervent prayer, the blessing of God, upon myself and my faithful people, and to be blessed by my beloved and loyal subjects, and by the whole human race in general. This is my most ardent wish, and my greatest happiness. But with all my endeavours to attain it, I cannot, as a man, allow myself to be so presumptuous as to accept this name, and to imagine that I have already obtained this happiness.

I consider it as the more incompatible with my principles, because I have at all times, and on all occasions, exhorted my faithful subjects to modesty and humility, and I will, therefore, not give an example which would contradict these sentiments. At the same time, therefore, that I hereby express my entire gratitude, I beg the public bodies of the empire to abandon all such designs. May a monument be erected to me in your hearts, as it is to you in mine. May my people bless me, in their hearts, as in mine I bless them. May Russia be happy, and may the Divine Blessing watch over her and over me."

About the same time, an imperial ukase was addressed to the synod, directing that henceforth thanksgivings should be performed annually on the 25th of December, and that day marked in the calendar, by the name, "Nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and commemoration of the deliverance of the Russian church and empire from the invasion of the Gauls, and twenty

nations allied with them." On the 30th of August, the anniversary of the battle of Kulm, the emperor issued an address to the army: "The empire is grateful to you for your services, and the hardships which you have endured. I thank you in its name, and congratulate you on your return to your country. Your heroic deeds have always attracted my attention. I invite all those who have returned home from this glorious war, crippled or wounded, to come to me, to receive the rewards they deserve."

A committee, composed of several generals, was appointed to examine the claims of the officers, who left the army, on account of wounds or sickness. In the true spirit of humanity, a free pardon was granted to all persons who had been misled to hold intercourse with the enemy. All debts to the government, not exceeding 2000 rubles, were excused. A general mitigation of sentences passed upon criminals was granted, and an

assurance given, that there should be no levy of recruits that year. In those governments which had suffered the most by the war, the peasants were excused from paying the arrears of poll-tax. As a remarkable instance of justice, it deserves to be mentioned, that by order of the emperor, notice was given in the principal German journals, to the effect, that as the inhabitants of Germany, who, during the war had received their payment in Russian bank notes, might find it difficult to dispose of them at their true value, offices were established in Berlin and Königsberg, where all persons who applied with such bank notes, should receive the value of them, according to the actual rate of exchange.

Even during the war, the Russian American company had carried on a profitable trade, rich cargoes of furs had arrived at Ochotzk, and it appeared that the company possessed in ships, stock, &c. a capital of above five millions of rubles.

According to the arrangements made by the sovereigns, at Paris, respecting the assembling of a congress at Vienna, to regulate the affairs of Europe; the monarchs and princes who were to take part in it, assembled at Vienna, in the months of September and October; but so many preparations were to be made, that the congress did not open till the 3rd of November. The proceedings in this august assembly are well known, as well as the differences which arose on some important points, especially the partition of Saxony, and the fate of Poland, which Alexander required to be established as an independent kingdom, of which he should be king, promising to introduce a constitutional government. It was confidently reported, at the time, that if this demand had not been complied with, Russia was disposed to maintain its pretensions by arms. The congress, however, agreed to all that Alexander required, and in January, 1815, he was recognised as King of Poland. This was much the same

thing as giving him the Protectorate of the continent.

At the same time Alexander obtained the cession of entire provinces from Persia. He extended the Russian dominion along the Black Sea, to the shores of the Bosphorus; so that the cabinet of St. Petersburg had it almost in its power, to oblige Persia to declare war against the Ottoman Porte, whenever the interest of Russia required. The congress of Vienna, which was distinguished by political acts of the highest importance to Europe, was likewise remarkable for royal hunting parties, and the numerous fêtes given to the sovereigns, who lavished on each other expressions of their reciprocal esteem. The labours of the congress were nearly at an end, when news arrived that Buonaparte had left the island of Elba, landed in France, and was marching rapidly to Paris. This news retained the allied sovereigns at Vienna. They engaged by a treaty,

signed by the plenipotentiaries of all the powers, to employ all the forces of their respective states, in order to cause the articles and conditions of the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May 1814, to be executed; to maintain inviolate, the resolutions taken by the congress of Vienna; to defend them against all attacks, and especially against the plans of Napoleon Buonaparte, whom, by a declaration of the 15th of March, they had declared to be out of the pale of the law of nations.

In order to carry these resolutions into effect, a mass of 400,000 men was collected. The Duke of Wellington urged the sovereigns to hasten the march of these troops. Alexander ordered the three corps which formed the Russian army, to march immediately. Napoleon on his arrival at Paris, soon manifested his intention of governing France with the same despotism as before. He gave his confidence to the same men who had been branded with public contempt, after the cessation of their

authority. Lastly, by his "additional act," he violated all the national liberties, which in his decrees from Lyons, he had promised to restore. He flattered himself that the sovereigns would consent to treat of peace with him, and when he found himself obliged to renounce this absurd hope, he could not prevail upon himself to sacrifice his ancient despotism, and to address the patriotism of the French, but devoted them to carry on war in defence of his imperial dignity. Sensible how important it was for him to strike a first decisive blow, he proceeded to attack the English and Prussian armies in Belgium, where, in spite of the first advantages over the Prussians, he lost, on the 18th of June, the ever memorable battle of Waterloo, which ended in the total rout of the French army, and irrevocably decided, in a few hours, his own fate, and that of France.

As soon as the result of the battle of Waterloo was known at Vienna, Alexander caused

his armies to halt, with the exception of the corps of Barclay de Tolly, which received orders to advance into France. Alexander arrived at Paris, on the 11th of July, 1815. He appears not to have been received in that capital with the same kind of enthusiasm as in the preceding year. Nor did his manners shew that affability which had distinguished him from the other sovereigns, during his first visit to the French capital. The restoration of 1814 was the result of the successes obtained by the Russian army, the restoration of 1815 was due to England, and the influence of the cabinet of London, appeared to preponderate in the affairs of France.

Though the Russian troops had had no share in the operations of the campaign, which was over in a few days, Alexander, however, made a remarkable display of the military force of his empire, in a grand review of a hundred and fifty thousand men in the plain of Vertus, a short time before he left Paris, to

return to his own country. While at Paris he proposed to the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia to bind themselves together by indissoluble ties, and on the 26th of September, the three sovereigns signed the celebrated act, for it cannot properly be called a treaty, known by the name of the Holy Alliance, in which they professed the principles of evangelical charity and piety. They invited all princes to enter this alliance, which was to secure to Europe, a peace, which policy and ambition should never disturb. Most of the other sovereigns of Europe subsequently acceded to this alliance. Louis XVIII. and the King of England, at that time Prince Regent, merely expressed their personal approbation, of the moral and Christian principles, laid down in the act. But though it contains no actual stipulations that can entitle it to be considered as a political document, or anything more, than a mere political creed of the monarchs, designed to consolidate a pacific system in Europe, it cannot be denied that when its principles

were to be applied, the sovereigns themselves, were the judges and interpreters of it. It was therefore susceptible of being employed, or even perverted, to the attainment of political views, and the subsequent events in Naples, Piedmont and Spain have clearly demonstrated the truth of this position, and excited a general feeling of dislike towards an union, which however honourably intended to secure the happiness of nations, may be made the most formidable instrument of their oppression and degradation. It has been said that the idea of this alliance, originated with the celebrated Madame de Krüdener, who certainly affirmed, that her holy mission was a consequence of it.

Alexander, after having reviewed his troops in the plains of Champagne, proceeded almost immediately to Brussels, to conclude the marriage of his sister, the Grand Duchess Anne, with his royal highness the Prince of Orange; a marriage which insured the prosperity of the kingdom, by placing it under the protection of Russia.

In company of the King of the Netherlands, the Prince of Orange, and the Princes of Prussia, the emperor visited the field of Waterloo, where they examined the several positions, particularly that which the Prince of Orange occupied, when he received his wound. At La Belle Alliance, where the emperor took a glass of wine, he said, looking at the king and the Prince of Orange, "Yes, indeed it is La Belle Alliance, as well of the states as of the families. God grant that it may be of long duration." After a short stay at Brussels, the emperor went to Dijon, where there was a grand review of the Austrian troops, at which the allied sovereigns, and the most distinguished generals, were present. From Dijon the Emperor of Russia went to Zürich, and thence through Germany to Berlin, where he remained a few days, and concluded with the King of Prussia the marriage of his brother, the Grand Duke Nicholas, with the king's daughter, the Princess Charlotte.

On the 8th of November, the emperor left

Berlin, and arrived on the 12th, at Warsaw, where he was received with every demonstration of joy. He assured the Poles, that he would constantly study to promote the prosperity of the country, and the happiness of the people; that he would carefully examine all their requests, and fulfil their wishes, as far as circumstances would permit. He likewise promised, that in consideration of what that country had suffered, the Russian troops should quit the kingdom as soon as possible. He appointed a government, at the head of which was General Zajonczek with the title of viceroy. At the same time, the fundamental principles of the constitution of the kingdom of Poland, in thirty-seven articles, were published.

On the 3rd of December, the emperor left Warsaw, and reached St. Petersburg on the 13th, at midnight, when he proceeded first to the Kasan cathedral, and afterwards to the winter palace. Her majesty the Empress Elizabeth had returned the preceding day,

after an absence of nearly two years. The conclusion of the definitive treaty of Paris had been announced a few days before, so that the emperor had now leisure to devote his attention to the internal affairs of his empire.

Though nothing occurred to call for the direct interference of Russia, in the affairs of other countries, its government did not cease to exercise, indirectly, a very great influence, over the other continental powers. While the family alliances with the courts of Prussia, Würtemberg, Baden, Weimar, and Brussels, insured a vast preponderance in those countries, able writers were employed to support its system in Germany. Among the most conspicuous of these, was Alexander von Stourdza, author of the well-known Memoire sur l'etat actuel de l'Allemagne, which was supposed to have had an official origin. It was first made known by the English newspaper, "The Times," the proprietor of which had received it from his correspondent at Aix-la-Chapelle, where only

fifty copies were printed, for distribution to the ministers assembled at the congress in that city. It soon, however, became generally known. The total ignorance of the subject of which it pretended to treat, the unmerited harshness of the inferences against the German universities, and the German national spirit in general, drawn from some insulated events, excited universal indignation against the author. Even in Russia itself, Stourdza's opinions were not entirely approved. It may, however, be presumed, from what passed in the sequel, that they contributed to inspire the apprehensions of a revolutionary spirit among the German youth, which led to the establishment of the celebrated Central Commission of Enquiry at Mayence, and to the restrictions imposed on the liberty of the press. The unfavourable opinion entertained by the Russian government in particular, of the public spirit of Germany, was attributed, in a great degree, to the supposed misrepresentations of the famous Kotzebue, who was known to be the agent of the Russian government,

sent to Weimar, for the purpose of corresponding with St. Petersburg. The principles supported by him in his Literary Journal, unhappily tended to confirm this prejudice against him, which terminated in his assassination, by the student Sand, in March, 1819.

By the treaty of Paris, France had engaged not only to pay a military contribution of seven hundred millions of francs, but also to liquidate all the debts due by the French government to foreign public bodies, or individuals. It appeared, however, from the estimate of the requisitions, contributions, and plunderings of the French in the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland and Italy, that the total amount was above 1,321 millions of francs and 1,300 millions in confiscations. It soon became evident that it would be absolutely impossible for France to pay this immense sum, without absolute ruin. The first step taken by the allied sovereigns, to afford some relief, was to withdraw in 1817, a fifth part of the army of occupation. The

next was to limit the payment to be made by France, in liquidation of the debts, to a certain sum, which, by the judicious exertion of all its means, it might be able to discharge. To obtain this object, the French exerted all their skill in negociation, and were so fortunate, as to succeed with England and Russia. The Emperor Alexander wrote to the King of Prussia on the 30th of October, 1817, a letter in which he stated his reasons for inclining to grant this indulgence to France. In a letter of the same date, to the Duke of Wellington, he calls upon his grace, as being perfectly well acquainted with the subject, to give it his serious attention. The result of all these proceedings was a new convention, April 23rd, 1818, by which the sum to be paid was fixed at 320,300,000 francs.

On the 27th of March, Alexander opened, in person, the first Polish Diet, at Warsaw, the proceedings in which were in every respect satisfactory to the nation, which was still farther

flattered by the respect paid to the remains of the celebrated Kosciusko, which the emperor allowed to be removed from Soleure to Cracow, and even invited the citizens to erect a monument to that hero. After closing the diet at Warsaw, the emperor undertook a journey to Odessa, the Crimea, and Moscow, to inspect the armies assembled there, and acquaint himself with the state of the southern provinces of his great empire. In September, this year, the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, met in congress at Aix-la-Chapelle! Of all that was done or determined at this congress, from which great matters had been expected, scarcely any thing transpired, except that the army of occupation should be withdrawn from France by the end of the year; the French government first giving sufficient security for the payment of the sums stipulated by the last convention.

CHAPTER XII.

WHILE Alexander shewed no disposition to war and conquest, he sought to exert his influence over the rest of Europe, on the principles of the holy alliance, and on the religious pacific system, founded chiefly by him at the congress at Aix-la-Chapelle. In this spirit he endeavoured to establish a kind of European directory, and to check all the revolutionary movements of the people, especially political changes, effected by the armed force. The memoir addressed to all the Russian ambassadors, with respect to the affairs of Spain, and the answer given by the Russian cabinet to the Chevalier Zéa Bermudez, contained the maxims of that European policy, laid down in the declaration, dated Aix-la-Chapelle, November 15th, 1818, chiefly against revolu-

tionary commotions, which might disturb the peace of Europe, as the French revolution had done. In this spirit, he participated in 1820, in the congresses held at Troppau and Laybach, concerning the affairs of Italy, and ordered his army to march to that country, in order to quell the insurrections in Naples and Piedmont, which were ascribed to the Carbonari; but as those revolutions were terminated in a short time, the Russian troops marched back to their own country.

Since the last demarcation of the frontiers between Russia and Turkey, which, with respect to Bessarabia and the mouth of the Danube, had been determined on the 2nd of September, 1817, conformably to the demands of Russia, fresh differences arose in 1819, because the Emperor Alexander, supported by treaties, intervened in favour of the fugitive Hospodar Karadja, and required satisfaction for the insult offered to his flag in the harbour of Constantinople. To this was added, in

1820, a violent attack by the Yamacks (soldiers who garrisoned the castles at the entrance of the Black Sea), on the palace of Baron Stroganoff, the Russian ambassador. Satisfaction was, at length, given for this insult; but the arrangement respecting the accomplishment of the treaty of Bucharest was not effected, because the Porte insisted on the evacuation of the Asiatic frontiers by the Russian troops.

These differences became much more serious in 1821, when the invasion of Moldavia by Alexander Ypsilanti, and the insurrection of the Greeks, excited, in the highest degree, the indignation of the sultan. It was in vain that Alexander, in a proclamation from Laybach, declared Ypsilanti's proceedings criminal, and Russia neuter in the Greek cause. The divan imagined that, in the purely diplomatic dispute between Russia and the Porte, there was a secret connection with the Greek revolution: incensed at this, it violated the treaty with Russia, with respect to Moldavia and Walla-

chia; it laid an embargo on the Russian ships coming from the Black Sea; disregarded the remonstrances of the Russian ambassador, who opposed with energy the excesses of fanaticism against the Greek church and the innocent victims of Turkish suspicion; and, by its insolent language, at length induced the Russian ambassador, whose life was in danger, from the fury of the populace, to demand his passports. Baron Stroganoff sailed for Odessa on the 9th of August, 1821, and was graciously received by the emperor at Witepsk and St. Petersburg. Since that time the diplomatic relations of Russia with the Porte, have been carried on at Constantinople, through the British ambassador, Lord Strangford, and the Austrian internuncio. After the note, addressed by the Reis-effendi directly to the Russian minister, on the 26th of July, 1821, a breach seemed inevitable; but the pacific policy of the holy alliance, entirely remote from all schemes of conquest, alarmed by the military revolutions in Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, and the spirit

of Carbonarism in general, and determined by the resolutions at Laybach, completely triumphed in the Russian cabinet over the friends of the independence of the Greeks; to this was added the conviction, that a war between Russia and the Porte might easily kindle a flame throughout all Europe, and that the national and religious contest connected with it might awaken a dangerous political frenzy in Russia itself. The cabinets of London, Vienna, and Paris intervened, to represent the pacific sentiments of the emperor, as above all the calculations of ambition.

The foreign political system having taken this direction, Count Capo d'Istria, secretary of state for foreign affairs, withdrew from office in May, 1822, and obtained leave to travel. Baron Stroganoff, late ambassador at Constantinople, did the same. Thus the hopes formerly entertained by the Greeks, of the support of Russia, were disappointed. The declaration of Count Nesselrode, in the note, dated

Laybach, 10th May, 1823, "That the political views of the emperor were not guided by love of war, or by the ambitious thought of exercising an exclusive influence over the councils of other monarchs, or on the nations entrusted to them by Providence," seemed now to indicate the course of the Russian policy; which, however, assumed a more decisive character after the return of the emperor from Verona, by way of Warsaw, in January, 1822. In consequence of a circular letter, addressed by Count Winzingerode, Würtemberg minister of state to the Würtemberg legations in foreign countries, and of some notes of Baron Von Wangenheim, minister of Würtemberg, in the diet in February, 1823, occasioned some differences with the court of Stuttgard. Austria, Prussia, and Russia recalled their ambassadors from that city; and Count Beroldingen, minister of Würtemberg at St. Petersburg, was appointed minister in the room of Count Winzingerode, who was dismissed. However, a new family alliance between Würtemberg and Russia was

formed by the marriage of the Grand Duke Michael to the Princess Charlotte of Würtemberg, the daughter of Prince Paul, who was married by the name Helena, on the 20th of February, 1824. But the diplomatic relations were not renewed till 1825, when the Prince of Hohenlohe—Kirchberg, arrived at St. Petersburg in January, 1825, as ambassador of Würtemberg; upon which, the privy counsellor Anstett, Russian ambassador to the German diet, was appointed likewise ambassador to Stuttgard. With the same harmony, and in conformity to the resolutions adopted at Verona, the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian courts, acted at Madrid. When the Duke d'Angoulême soon after entered Spain, at the head of a French army; the Russian merchants were commanded to suspend all commercial transactions with Spain and Portugal; and Count Boutourlin, aide-de-camp to his imperial majesty, repaired to the duke's head-quarters, for the purpose of making the campaign, with his permission. After the re-establishment of

the ancient form of government, in the two countries, the emperor conferred the insignia of different orders on the princes, generals, and officers who had contributed to it; and, through his ambassador at Paris, Count Pozzo di Borgo, as also through M. d'Oubril, at Madrid, exercised great influence on the system of the restored royal government of Spain.

This intimate connexion with Austria was further confirmed in the sequel, by the personal interview of the two emperors at Czernowitz, 6—11 of October 1823; when, the Porte having repressed the grievances, respecting the navigation, it seemed to have been resolved in the conferences between Count Nesselrode and Prince Metternich, at Lemberg, in October, to send a Russian chargé d'affaires to Constantinople. The negociations of Lord Strangford with the Porte, chiefly related to the evacuation of the two principalities by the Turkish troops, and the restoration of the free navigation of the Black Sea. The Porte on the other hand,

in its note of the 2nd of October, 1821, had demanded, that Russia should give up Prince Suzzo and the rebels, who had taken refuge in its territory. They were therefore obliged to leave Russia and Poland, where, especially in the former, large contributions were collected for them, and went through Germany, to a port of the Mediterranean. The insolence of the barbarians, who showed no want of ability in these negociations, made it necessary for Russia, to save the political point of honour. It therefore demanded, in its ultimatum, the evacuation of the principalities, and the appointment of Hospodars, both of which were refused by the divan on the 28th February, 1822. It was not till the 13th of July, that the Porte resolved to appoint new Hospodars, and held out hopes of the evacuation; but refused to send a negociator to Kaminitz-Podolski, alledging that Russia had begun the quarrel, which power might therefore send an ambassador to Constantinople, only not on board a ship of war; it besides continued to insist on the evacuation of the

Asiatic frontiers. Lord Strangford having laid before it in February, 1823, the resolutions of the congress at Verona, it declined in its answer, every intervention of foreign powers in the affairs of Greece. The Reis-effendi, however, in his note of the 26th of February, 1823, which Lord Strangford transmitted to Count Nesselrode, announced the nomination of Hospodars, for Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as the speedy evacuation of the two provinces, but required at the same time, the restitution of the fortresses in Asia, retained by the Russians, contrary to the tenour of the treaty of Bucharest, and the sending of a Russian ambassador to Constantinople. Count Nesselrode replied, on the 19th of May, that the nomination of the Hospodars, without the concurrence of Russia, was not legal; that the conduct of the Turkish commanders in the principalities, gave no indications of an intention soon to leave them; that the last firman threw greater difficulties in the way of the Levant trade than existed before; lastly, that Russia, as the first condition of any recon-

ciliation, expected a satisfactory answer to its first remonstrance, respecting the Greek church. Meantime, the Porte had already caused several Greek churches to be repaired, and left the Greek patriarch and the other clergy in their dignities. On the urgent remonstrances of Lord Strangford, the Porte, indeed, took off the embargo which it had laid upon ships under the Russian flag, on the pretext that they belonged to the insurgents, and again permitted the navigation of the Black Sea; but it dextrously evaded all the other points of the Russian note. Thus the negociations turned continually in the same circle, when Mr. Minziacky arrived in Constantinople, as Russian chargé d'affaires. He, therefore, did not open his office till March, and then only as Russian consul. The Porte now began to withdraw its troops from the principalities; and, on the 24th of August, 1825, Alexander appointed his privy counsellor, M. de Ribeaupierre, ambassador to the Porte. He is not, however, gone to his post, for the evacua-

tion of the principalities did not take place till the latter end of the year, upon which Mr. Minziacky, on the 11th of December, 1824, delivered to the Reis-effendi his credentials, as chargé d'affaires. By this step, the diplomatic relations between Russia and the Porte were restored. The arrival of the Russian ambassador at Constantinople was delayed, because the Russian cabinet desired to await the result of the campaign of 1825, in order to take further resolutions in concert with the other continental powers. With this view, negociations were carried on at St. Petersburg, in April, 1825, with the ambassadors of Austria, France, and Prussia. What might have been the final result of these conferences, had Alexander lived to return to St. Petersburg, must remain matter of conjecture. Certain it is, that the conduct of the Russian cabinet, with regard to the Greeks, has entirely baffled the expectations, and defeated the sanguine hopes of those who were convinced that, if it had not encouraged the insurrection, it would not fail to

support it. Perhaps the influence of a principle once adopted, has never been more strongly marked than on this occasion.

Notorious as the projects of the Russian cabinet have always been, since the time of the Empress Catharine, who may be said to have directly avowed them, when she presented her grandson Constantine to the Greek deputies as their future sovereign, it was confidently believed that on this occasion the Greek revolution, if not originally fomented by Russian influence, would however be supported by the cabinet of St. Petersburg. But when nearly two years had passed in trifling negociations, when the Turks declined to give any satisfaction, though an army of 250,000 Russians was on their frontiers, it became evident, that the Emperor Alexander was not disposed to interfere in favour of the Greeks, and that the Divan was well aware of his sentiments in this respect A very remarkable article in a German journal in 1822, explained, at great length, the

motives of the Russian cabinet. It distinctly stated that the differences between Russia and Turkey were purely of a diplomatic nature, that the policy of Russia required the preservation of peace, because "all the monarchs are agreed to maintain the European conventions concluded at the congress of Vienna."

Four years perseverance in this system allow us to consider the article in question as a completely official expression of the policy of Russia with regard to the Greeks. The conquest of Turkey, the favourite plan of the Russian cabinet, from Peter the Great to Catharine, has been adjourned, because the Emperor Alexander has judged it more advantageous, and more glorious, to maintain the precautions stipulated by the members of the holy alliance, than to gratify the wishes of Christian Europe, particularly of his own nation, and probably the secret wishes of his heart. The Greek nation is the bloody offering, sacrificed by the fear of revolution on the altar of Musselman

legitimacy; and thus from love of peace, and regard to the general political system, adopted in Europe, he has refrained from profiting by the most favourable opportunity, and the most just motives, to annihilate the barbarous empire of the Turks in Europe, and to restore the countries on the Bosphorus, and the classic soil of Greece, to European civilization and social order.

The relations with Great Britain have been rather changed since the time that the English cabinet, contrary to the system of the holy alliance, has recognised the South American republics. The mission of Mr. Stratford Canning to St. Petersburg, in April, 1825, related only to the conclusion of a convention between Russia and England, respecting the north-west coast of America, where the differences between Russia and the United States have also been adjusted.

The relations of Russia with China have

remained the same, as they were fixed by the treaty of amity, between the two empires concluded by Count Wladisslawitsch in 1727, on the frontier between Kiachta and the Mongol town of Urga. By this treaty permission was granted for the free residence of a Russian mission, consisting of young ecclesiastics, at Pekin, for the purpose of learning the language, by which means Russia has maintained a constant intercourse with China. The more intimate connection of Russia with Persia is founded upon the treaty of peace of the 12th of October, 1815, (ratified at Iflis the 15th September, 1814) by which Russia obtains the cession of important provinces, the exclusive privelege of navigating the Caspian Sea with ships of war, and of free trade with all the provinces of Persia, on payment for import duty of five per cent, in return for which Russia is to lend its aid to all the sous of the shach, and not suffer any foreign power to interfere in the affairs of Persia. Thus Persia is situated with respect to Russia, as Poland formerly was. In 1823

General Yermoloff chastised and subdued the predatory mountaineers of Caucasia. In the same year seven khans of the Kirghis and Calmucks voluntarily exchanged the supremacy of China for that of Russia.[14]

Having thus brought down our sketch of the political history of Russia to the latest period, we will now give a general view of the internal improvements effected during Alexander's eventful reign, and then conclude with an account of the last scenes of his life till his unexpected and lamented death.

CHAPTER XIII.

The important history of Alexander's reign, may be divided into three periods. The first, which was a time of peace, was entirely dedicated to the execution of the plans of Peter the Great and Catherine II. for the internal administration; in the second, the wars with France, Sweden, Turkey, and Persia, from 1805 to 1814, developed the military strength of the empire, and the patriotism of the people; the third, profited by the experience, and the fruit of the two preceding, to form the plan of realising the expression of Peter the Great, a hundred years before, in his speech after the victory over the Swedish fleet, near the Aland Island's 1714, "Nature has made only one Russia, and it must have no rival!" In these three periods, Alexander governed with moderation, activity, and indefa-

tigable perseverance, by direct correspondence or personal superintendence; and, at the same time, by his unaffected and amiable manners, gained the affection and confidence of his people. His activity embraced with judgment and zeal, every thing that concerned the welfare of the empire; he was capable of enlarged views, and the idea of a Christian alliance of sovereigns, proceeded from his bosom, which was deeply imbued with religious feelings, and from a mind open to every great idea. Whether this alliance was calculated, even according to the first conception of it, to accomplish the object proposed, and whether, in the application, it has not deviated from the original intention, are questions for future consideration. The following is an outline of the most important particulars of his internal government.

He has introduced, and placed on a solid basis, a system of national education; he has improved the internal administration in all its branches; he has encouraged the industry of

the nation at home, and raised the foreign commerce of Russia to a degree of prosperity before unknown; he has brought the military establishment to a degree of perfection which it had never before attained; he has developed in his people the feelings of unity, of courage, and of patriotism, by his own firmness and resolution; lastly, he has elevated Russia to the first place, and the centre of political order in Europe, and partly in Asia. It may also be affirmed, that under Alexander I. Russia has not been inferior to any other European state, with respect to the refined taste and knowledge diffused among the higher classes, and at the court, and in the numbers of liberal and enlightened statesmen. The persons about the emperor, were partly Russians and partly Greeks; among the former, General Yermoloff, a man of great general information, was his favourite, on account of his distinguished merit. Great praise is due to Alexander, for his exertions to improve the language and literature of the Russians. He has founded, or new organised,

seven universities, namely, at Dorpat, Kasan, Charcow, Moscow, Wilna, Warsaw, and St. Petersburg, and established 204 gymnasia and seminaries, and above 2000 inferior district and popular schools, on the Lancasterian system; he has contributed more than any sovereign in Europe, to the distribution of the Bible, in almost all the provinces, by supporting the Bible Societies; a new lyceum has also been established at Odessa. By a ukase of 1817, great advantages were promised to the Jews embracing Christianity. He has given large sums towards the printing of important works, such as Krusenstern's Voyage round the World, and Karamsin's History of Russia; he has appreciated, and liberally rewarded scientific merit, both at home and abroad. He purchased scarce collections, such as Loder's celebrated Anatomical Museum, Forster's Mineralogical Collections, and the Cabinet of the Princess Jablonowski. He has been equally fortunate and liberal, in the acquisition of splendid collections of paintings, for instance, that of the Spanish

school, belonging to Mr. Koswelt, a merchant of Amsterdam, purchased in 1814, for 200,000 rubles, and the gallery of Malmaison, the property of the Empress Josephine, in 1815, for 960,000 francs. In 1818, he invited Messrs. Demange and Charmoy, two Orientalists, from Paris to St. Petersburg, to give instruction in the Arabic, Armenian, Persian, and Turkish languages. He especially promoted the education of young men of talent, whom he sent abroad, to travel at his expense.

In the furtherance of his beneficent views he everywhere endeavoured to release his subjects from the subordinate tyranny of their masters, the nobles, bojards, &c., without, however, using arbitrary means to obtain his object. Personal slavery is entirely abolished in Russia, and since 1816 also in Esthonia and Courland, and every householder or farmer, is the proprietor of his land, in the estates of the crown. In a letter to a nobleman on whom he had conferred a patrimonial estate, the emperor

says: "The peasants of Russia are for the greater part slaves; it is unnecessary for me to enlarge upon the degradation and misery of such a state. I have sworn, therefore, not to increase the number of these wretched beings; and have laid it down as a principle, not to dispose of peasants as a property. The estate is granted to yourself and your posterity, as a tenure for life; which is a tenure differing in this point alone from the generality, that the peasants cannot be sold, or alienated as beasts of burden. You know my motives; I am convinced you would act in the same manner, were you in my place."

A nobleman in the government of Woronesk had bought six thousand peasants of Prince Trubeczkoi, and at the instance of Alexander offered them their freedom, on condition of their making good the purchase money; which they did most joyfully, and built a church, to which they gave the name of their benefactor.

Desirous of securing to his people the maintenance of their rights, by a new code, he founded a school for the study of the law, and among other judicious regulations, determined that in criminal causes, sentence of death could not be pronounced, unless the judges were unanimous. The torture was abolished in 1801 as a disgrace to humanity. Lastly, he checked by wise laws the abuses of power, in governors of provinces. The privilege of the nobles, that their hereditary estates could not in any case be sequestrated as punishment for a crime, was extended to all his subjects. The measures adopted by Alexander for improving the manufactures and commerce of his empire, were still more efficacious; for example, the improvements in the currency, since the establishment of a sinking fund; the imperial treasury bank, founded 19th May, 1817; the establishment of annual fairs at Nischnei, Novgorod and Warsaw in 1817.

In general the state of the manufactures has been extremely improved since 1804. This is particularly the case with the woollen manufactures, so that they are now able to supply cloth for the army, and all the government establishments which used formerly to be furnished by England.

Since the congress of Aix la-Chapelle, Russia has found means, in its pacific policy, not only to confirm its influential position in the confederation of the European states, but likewise so to order and consolidate the basis of its political strength, internal economy and military system, that, being constantly prepared for war, it can, in case of need, carry it on with energy, without foreign aid, and without exhausting itself. The history of Russia, during the last seven years, relates therefore, in part, to the resumption of the plans for the improvement of the internal administration which had been suspended during war, partly to the application and farther development of

the system of foreign policy, founded upon the holy alliance, and the declaration of the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.

In order to animate, by political union, the vast assemblage of countries and nations composing the greatest empire in the world, to concentrate its immense powers, and to apply them with certainty and facility, the forms of the administration, simple as those of ancient Rome—were more and more closely united with the centre of the government. All the activity of the local authorities, in the twelve general governments formed in 1823, to each of which four governments are subordinate, is directed and observed, under the immediate superintendence of the emperor, by the council of the empire, of which Prince Lapuchin is president; and which is intimately connected with the directing senate, with the emperor as president; the directing synod and the ministers of state. The office of minister of police was abolished in 1819, and the direc-

tion of the police was united with the department of the ministry of the interior, as also the department of manufactures and internal commerce with the department of finances. Among the provinces, Siberia was formed in 1822 into two grand divisions, the eastern and western, each of which has its separate administration, the former containing two, and the latter three provinces. The thinly peopled Caucasia was formed into a province, and Stawropol made the seat of government, instead of Georgiewsk (1824). The management of affairs in the central point of the government, has been greatly simplified by the new organization of the chancery of the empire, proposed by the four presidents of the council of the empire, and was confirmed by the emperor in March, 1825. This chancery consists of the secretary of the empire, secretaries of state, twelve assistant secretaries, &c. The emperor himself paid great attention to many parts of the superior administration. Thus, on his journies to the most remote parts of the empire, to Lap-

land, 1819; to the military colonies, and to the south-western boundaries, to inspect the armies in 1823; to Orenburg in the Kirghis Steppe, in 1824; to Warsaw in 1818, 1820, 1823, and 1825, he examined the most important objects of the provincial administration. No sovereign of Russia, not even Peter the Great himself, ever made such long and frequent journies. In general, wherever there was an opportunity, Alexander exerted a direct and powerful influence. This was the case, in the great misfortune that befel St. Petersburg, by a terrible inundation of the Neva, on the 19th of November, 1824.

A religious spirit has been spread from him, among the higher classes of the capital, which is as different from the brilliant ostentation of former times, as from the extravagant mysticism which, even before the death of Madame Von Krüdener, on the 13th of December, 1824, in the Crimea, gained no ground in St. Petersburg. With this spirit of pious humility is

combined a strict and most anxious attention to every thing that might be injurious to the existing order in the state and church; and strictness is certainly necessary to promote the advance of justice, probity, order, and diligence, in the administration of the Russian state. In this view, the ukase of the 26th of January, 1822, is very remarkable. By this ukase, a great number of civil officers (678) in Siberia, who had been guilty of many illegal proceedings, under the Governor-General Pestel, were removed, and punished for usury and embezzlement. Among them were the governor-general and two governors.

Agriculture has made great progress during the last seven years. The peasant, in general, has obtained legal protection against arbitrary power and oppression. The great work of the abolition of vassallage has succeeded in the Baltic provinces. It was abolished by the nobility of Courland, in 1818; and the nobles of Livonia decreed, in 1819, its gradual aboli-

tion; so that, by 1826, all the Livonian peasants should be free; and all born after the publication of the ordinance of 1819, to be free from their birth. When the deputation of Livonian nobility asked the emperor to confirm this new constitution, he replied, "You have acted in the spirit of the age, when only liberal sentiments can serve as a foundation for the happiness of nations." In 1823, an ukase prohibited the sale of vassals without the land to which they belonged. There are no vassals in the military colonies. The plan of founding colonies of foreign emigrants, for instance, of the Würtemburghers in Georgia, since 1817, has succeeded in the provinces of southern Russia, in Caucasia, and Bessarabia. The villages, founded in the latter country, have received their names from the victories of the Russians, and are called, for instance, Kulm, La Fere Champenoise, Brienne, Leipzig, Paris, Arcis, &c. The committee of management, formed at Cherson, for colonists in southern Russia, was particularly active. The spirit of emigration from

Germany and Switzerland to Russia, increased so much, that, in 1819, the delivery of passports to emigrants was necessarily restricted. Besides this, the government assigned unoccupied crown lands, in the southern governments, to soldiers of good character, who were to cultivate them. Great attention was paid to the agricultural improvement of Siberia; with this view, an ukase, published in June, 1822, allowed all crown vassals in the more barren governments to settle in the fertile parts of southern Siberia. It is well known how much has been done to accustom the Jews to agricultural and mechanical professions. Near Nikolajew, in the government of Cherson, is a village inhabited entirely by Jews, who cultivate their fields very diligently and well, and have among them skilful mechanics of all descriptions. The agricultural society, founded at Moscow, in 1819, has also exerted itself with success, for the improvement of agriculture; having established a school, on an admirable plan, in which four hundred farmers' sons

receive instruction in the theory and practice of agriculture. The growing of corn is, indeed, not so profitable to the landowners as it used to be, from the want of a market; but they have lately turned their attention to the breeding of sheep, which is daily becoming more and more advantageous. So far back as 1820, the number of sheep in the Russian empire was estimated at sixty millions, and the wool exported from Odessa was considered as equal to the best Spanish. In 1825, wool fairs were held in nine of the provincial towns, and all the establishments of the crown, as well as the army, use only cloth and woollens of Russian manufacture.

Great advantages are expected from the cultivation of a plant, *polygonum minus*, discovered in the Ukraine, in 1824, on which there are insects, *coccus polonorum*, resembling the cochineal insect, from which the most beautiful crimson may be extracted. Of still greater importance was the discovery of gold mines

and platina, in 1821 and 1823, in the Ural mountains, where there is an unexplored and inexhaustible field for the improvement of mineralogy. Accordingly, in April, 1825, a learned society was established for the promotion of mineralogy in Russia, which intends to publish a mineralogical journal; and, for this purpose, corresponds with mineralogical societies founded in each mining district. The emperor subscribed five thousand rubles annually, in support of this society. Several productive salt springs have already been discovered in Lithuania. Lastly, the cultivation of the vine has lately been introduced into Siberia; and, in 1824, the first successful attempts were made in the government of Orenburg, at the foot of the Ural mountains. All this visibly tends to promote the comforts of the inferior classes of the community. The population increases annually, and, including Poland and Finland, is estimated at fifty-four millions of souls. Above six millions of citizens, who live in eighteen hundred towns, to-

gether with the soldiers discharged from the army, at the expiration of their service, form the stamina of an independent third estate. With the progressive improvement of agriculture, the restoration of what the war had destroyed is proceeding rapidly. Thus, Moscow has risen from its ashes, built in a more commodious and splendid manner than before the great catastrophe, which seemed to have for ever destroyed it.

A second object of the internal economy of the state, is the education of the people, to which the government directs its incessant attention, partly by keeping off, and rejecting everything foreign, which it considers as dangerous, and partly by extending and improving, the internal establishments for education. This department of the administration, which, since 1817, has been united with that of ecclesiastical affairs, has founded, besides the universities, gymnasia and district schools, a great number of institutions for special purposes, for

instance, a great many agricultural schools, a gymnasium at Odessa for young Greeks, and a school at St. Petersburg, for the study of the oriental languages. A new and magnificent observatory has been erected at Nikolajef, on the Black Sea, and another at Moscow. Notwithstanding the almost unlimited religious toleration which prevails in Russia, it was found necessary to adopt rigorous measures against the Jesuits, who were banished from the empire, by a decree of the 25th of March, 1820, chiefly on account of their illegal attempts at making proselytes. Extraordinary precautions were taken against revolutionary intrigues, and by an ukase of the 12th August, 1822, all secret societies were prohibited, and all the lodges of free-masons throughout the empire were shut up. For the same reason, and on account of a suspicious correspondence, the governor general, in the German provinces of the empire, abolished the missionary societies, but a report that dangerous intrigues had taken place in some of the corps of the army, was po-

sitively contradicted by authority. Still greater rigour has been exercised by the police since 1823, towards every thing immoral, irreligious, and revolutionary. An ukase of November 1824, directed Admiral Schischkof to be especially vigilant with regard to religious writings. The emperor also authorised the governors of the Baltic provinces, to subject all the national and foreign newspapers and journals, circulated there, to a censorship. The academies were placed under very strict superintendence. In 1821 four professors in the university of Petersburg were called to account for the contents of their lectures, and some occurrences at Wilna, in 1823, led to still farther restrictions. The regulations for the importation of foreign books, are extremely strict and onerous. Another measure affected private instruction; to prevent incompetent teachers and adventurers from being employed in families, notice was given that such persons who could not produce a certificate of their qualifications, should be immediately discharged, otherwise the families

who retained them, should pay a fine of a hundred rubles.

The great work of legislation has been progressively advancing; many improvements have been made, particularly in the infliction of corporal punishment. Thus the practice of branding criminals, after the infliction of the knout, was totally abolished, in order, says the ukase, "that the reformed criminal may return to civil society, without being prevented by the mark from making himself respected." Meantime, according to the official accounts, both the internal and foreign commerce of the empire, has increased in an extraordinary degree, and the measures taken to consolidate the public credit, and introduce a good system for the reduction of the debt, appear to have been eminently successful.

Of all the branches of the Russian administration, none has been brought to a greater degree of perfection, than the army. The

most important institutions are the military colonies founded in 1819, and the subsequent years, with which Europe was first made acquainted by Dr. Lyall's interesting essay.

Co-operating with this activity of the government in the internal administration, the public spirit of many noble and wealthy individuals, deserves mention. Among these, Count Romanzoff, chancellor of the empire, is preeminent. The emperor everywhere set the example: to enumerate all the instances would be impossible, but we will mention a few. Thus, in 1823, he assigned 600,000 rubles for the establishment of baths upon the Caucasus. He liberally encouraged the celebrated Karamsin in his publication of the history of Russia. He lately gave 6,000 rubles to Mr. Glinke, to defray the expence of printing his Russian history, and a separate present of 3000 rubies. Commodore Krusenstern is now publishing by his order, and at his cost, in Russian and French, an atlas of the Pacific Ocean, and a collection

of hydrographical memoirs. His reign is the first in which the Russians have attempted a voyage of discovery, and the expeditions of Krusenstern, Golownin, Kotzebue, and Bellinghausen round the world, have contributed valuable additions to our nautical and geographical knowledge; and the travels in the interior of Asia are replete with valuable information.

Our sketch of the state of Russia under the late emperor being now brought down to the most recent period, we have to give an account of the few last months of his life. Alexander who had enjoyed during the summer, the company of his sister, the hereditary Grand Duchess of Weimar, and her consort, and of the Prince and Princess of Orange, resolved to make the journey of the southern provinces of the empire, and particularly to review the armies in Volhynia Podolia, and perhaps in Bessarabia. Another object was to visit the Crimea, especially the town of Taganrog, which, next to Odessa, is the most flourishing sea-port in southern Russia.

This town being situated in a very agreeable climate, 47° 12′ north latitude, it was thought a few weeks residence there might contribute to restore the health of the Empress Elizabeth. In pursuance of this plan her majesty set out from St. Petersburg, on the 15th of September, attended by Prince Wolkonsky, and her physician, Dr. Stoffregen, with a very small suite. She travelled by moderate stages, so as to reach Taganrog on the 6th of October, where the emperor, who left St. Petersburg on the 13th of September, expected to arrive in time to receive her. From the accounts of the empress's progress it appeared that the journey had produced a visible improvement in her health. The emperor, in the course of his journey, made no considerable stay anywhere, but hastened to Taganrog, where he arrived on the 25th of September, at ten o'cock at night. On the two following days he inspected all the establishments, with the good situation of which he expressed himself much satisfied, and especially with the Lazaretto. Alexander signi-

fied his intention to have this edifice enlarged and built of stone. The harbour likewise to be improved for the more convenient landing of goods. On the 29th of September, Major General Ilowaisky, Hetman of the Cossacks, arrived from Neutscherkask, and dined with the emperor. The empress had found the journey very agreeable, and Taganrog pleased her extremely, the air being mild and salutary, and both their majesties daily made excursions in the environs, as well on foot as on horseback.

Taganrog is situated on the cliff of a very high promontory, commanding an extensive prospect of the Sea of Azof, and all the European coasts to the mouth of the Don; Azof itself is visible from the heights of the citadel in fine weather. It was formerly a very considerable town, containing 70,000 inhabitants, but in consequence of a capitulation made with the Turks, the original city was entirely razed. Its revival may be attributed to the establishment of the Armenian colony at Nacktshivan. When Dr. Clarke visited it, all the best houses were

in the suburbs. At present the town is neatly built; the streets are very broad and regular, but not paved. The houses are built both of stone and wood, and tastefully painted; some of them are handsome and even splendid. Among the edifices most worthy of remark are the cathedral, two Greek or Russian, and one catholic church, and the bazaars. So far back as 1820, Taganrog contained 2000 edifices, among which there were on the exchange 170 magazines for the reception of goods, the erection of which cost near two millions of rubles. This is a sufficient proof of the flourishing state of the commerce which has been increasing every year. There would not be any situation in the south of Russia more favourable for commerce, were it not for the shallowness of the water, which is such, that vessels drawing from eight to ten feet water, cannot approach nearer to the town than ten miles. Ships from the Black Sea, find here, ready for embarkation, all the produce of Siberia, with the caviare, and other commodities of Astracan; whereas, at Cherson and Odessa,

they are often obliged to wait long for a cargo. But it is only during a few months in the year that trade can be carried on, in winter the sea is frozen over, chiefly in consequence of the drift ice, but is often broken up by storms. From December to March, the surface of the sea from the mouth of the Don to Taganrog, is covered with such solid ice, that sledges pass over it in safety to Azof and Tscherksk. As soon as the first ships make their appearance from the Black sea, the waggons begin to arrive from the interior. The vessels are subject to quarantine, during all which time the caravans continue to increase, and before the end of the quarantine, says Dr. Clarke, not less than 6000 waggons occupy all the plains below the town; of this number 3000 arrive annually from the Ukraine.

There are many gardens in the town, among which is a very large one, open to the public. There is an abundance of fruit; good grapes, for instance, the best Muscatelles, are ex-

tremely cheap, costing only thirty copecks in copper, per pound. Foreign fruit is scarce, indifferent, and dear, for which reason skilful gardeners have lately been sent from St. Petersburg to erect hot-houses. The country around Taganrog, on account of the cooling sea breezes, is one of the most temperate and healthy in Russia. In autumn, winter, and spring, thick fogs, mists, and storms, come from the Sea of Azof. The fogs collect chiefly about the mouth of the Don, but do not extend above twenty miles inland. In some winters, the snow is pretty deep, and in others, scarcely any falls. The environs are so fertile, that wheat may be sown upon new unmanured land, four or five years successively, and yields to 20, 30, and in good seasons, 40 fold. All kinds of fruit trees, grow with great rapidity, and produce excellent fruit, without grafting, especially apricots, peaches, apples, and cherries. Mulberry trees also thrive well. The sea winds are unfavourable to the cultivation of the vine, and there is a great want of wood. In the year 1823, Ta-

ganrog contained about 14,000 inhabitants, chiefly Greeks.

The extensive and fruitful Steppes, which formerly served only as pastures and meadows, have been gradually peopled and cultivated, in the space of forty years, and chiefly sown with wheat. The Steppe has assumed an entirely new aspect, villages and country houses have been built, the meadows converted into rich corn land, which, being situated near the port, the inhabitants have a great advantage over those of more remote governments, who must send their produce to Taganrog, from a considerable distance. During the season of the navigation, the neighbouring farmers send provisions of all kinds, cattle and poultry, to Taganrog, and supply the crews of foreign vessels at a much cheaper rate than any other port. A person travelling in autumn through the Steppes from Poltawa, by Novomoskowsk, Bachmut, and the country on the Don, to Taganrog, cannot fail to be struck with the nu-

merous herds of buffalos, oxen, cows, and sheep. In that part of the country which is now arable, the quantities of corn of different kinds in the villages and fields, afford a sight which is hardly to be met with in other parts of Russia. It is true that there is no shady tree to refresh the traveller on his journey. The government has indeed lately ordered trees to be planted along the high roads, but at present there is nothing meets his eye in these boundless plains, but dams thrown up in various places, where, according to the accounts of the inhabitants, the temples of idolatrous Tartars formerly stood. The images found in them are set up on both sides of the road, to serve as guides in the snow. The stone idols are of very rude workmanship. In some places there are tumuli, and remains of old fortifications, but no natural hills nor woods.

On the 24th of October the emperor arrived at Novo Tscherkask, having been received two miles from the town, by Lieutenant General

Ilowaisky, and a great number of officers of distinction. The emperor had first alighted at the country house of Count Platof, where he was received by Adjutant General Czernitschef. Having changed his dress, he mounted a Cossack horse, splendidly caparisoned, and rode to meet the Hetman, who advanced some hundred paces before his suite, welcomed his sovereign, and presented the general report of the state of the corps under his command. The emperor then rode up to the suite, whom he saluted in the most affable manner, and proceeded with them to the cathedral; the way to which was crowded on both sides with the population of the neighbouring villages, who greeted his majesty with joyful acclamations; the women and girls strewing garlands of flowers in the way. At the door of the cathedral he was received by the principal clergy, and after divine service, he proceeded to the house of the hetman, before which the honourable marks of distinction and favour granted to the brave Cossacks for their numerous services,

were placed in two lines, within which his majesty was welcomed by the officers of the Chancery of the Don, which is the supreme tribunal of this province. On the steps, according to the universal custom in Russia, the hetmans of districts, and the chief elders, offered his majesty bread and salt. In the court of the hetman's house stood a guard of honour of one hundred and sixty-five Cossacks, with their colours, to some of whom the emperor spoke with great kindness.

Meantime, the house was surrounded by crowds of people, eager to catch a sight of their beloved sovereign, and their joy was boundless, when the emperor shewed himself in the balcony. On the morning of the 25th, the clergy, the general and staff-officers, had an audience of his majesty; after which, accompanied by the hetman, and the principal officers, he visited all the public establishments. He dined with the hetman, and in the evening, honoured with his presence, a ball given by the hetman, with

whose lady he danced the first polonaise. The 26th, being the birth-day of her majesty the empress mother, the emperor went early in the morning to attend divine service in the cathedral. On his return, the whole way to the hetman's house was crowded with people. The travelling carriages were ready, and all regretted the departure of their beloved monarch, whom they had seen for so short a time. The emperor returned by way of Old Tscherkask to Azof, and arrived at Taganrog, on the 27th of October.

On the 1st of November, the emperor set out on a second journey in the Crimea. He took the way by Mariopol, Perekop, Sympheropol, Baktschisaray, and Eupatoria. The weather, at this time, was remarkably fine. After a few days' rain, the autumn was so mild at the latter end of October, even for Taganrog, that, on the 28th and the following days, the thermometer of Reaumur was at 16° in the shade. The 31st of October, Alexander ad-

dressed an ukase to the minister of finance, to the following effect: "In order to adopt all possible means for the advantage of the harbour of this town, which is so important to the inland trade of Russia, we order the tenth part of all the duties of customs at Taganrog, to the amount of not more than one million annually, to be retained for the improvement of the port, and for the erection of the buildings necessary for the town, on a scale suitable to the extent of its commerce."

On the 5th, his majesty arrived at Sympheropol, where he was received by the civil governor of Taurida, Mr. Narischkin. He alighted at the house of the governor-general; the whole town was illuminated in the evening. On the 6th, in the morning, he left Sympheropol, by the new road which has been made during the summer, to the south coast of the peninsula, where he stopped at the beautiful country seat Ursuf, belonging to the Governor General Count Woronzoff, where he

remained till the 7th. Ursuf, an estate of the crown, is the constant residence of the governor-general of the province of New Russia; and was, therefore, formerly in the possession of the late Duke of Richelieu, whose wise paternal government will render his name immortal in these parts. On the following day, accompanied by Count Woronzoff, he went to Aluschta, a Tartar village, situated close to the sea coast, which has now obtained the privileges of a town, and appears to be increasing in prosperity, on account of the numerous visitors who frequent it for sea bathing. The emperor also visited, between Ursuf and Aluschta, the garden of Nikita,[12] belonging to the government; and also the estate, which he lately purchased, of Count Kuschelew Besborodko, in Orianda. On the 9th, early in the morning, the emperor left Alupka and the south coast of the Crimea, passing through the defile, called the Ladder. His carriages had been left behind, near Sympheropol, and continued his journey to the south coast on horseback. Having

joined his carriages again in the village of Baidari, in the celebrated valley of that name; he then visited Balaclawa, breakfasted with Colonel Revelioti, and arrived in the night of the 9th, at Sebastopol, where he was waited upon by Vice-Admiral Greig, commander-in-chief of the fleet in the Black Sea.

On his return through the Crimea, the emperor was so struck, in the environs of Sebastopol, with the luxuriance and beauty of the southern vegetation, and the picturesque scenery, that he said to General Diebitsch and Count Woronzoff, who accompanied him, "If I should one day retire from the cares of government, I should wish to pass my old age in this spot." Full of these thoughts, he went into a neighbouring monastery, where he remained in devout contemplation for above an hour. When he returned to his company, he complained of indisposition and chilliness. The fever, which proved an intermittent, increased in violence, and he found it necessary to return

to Taganrog, to the Empress Elizabeth. As his constitution was vigorous, there would have been no apprehensions of danger, had timely relief been given; but the emperor thought too slightly of his complaint, and, during the first fortnight, refused to take any medicine. When he, at length, yielded to the earnest entreaties of his family, and the pious remonstrances of the archimandrite, it was too late. His disorder grew rapidly worse, but he remained perfectly sensible to the last moments in which he declared his will. The Empress Elizabeth paid the most affectionate attention to her beloved consort, and, for five days and nights, did not quit his bed-side. The last words the emperor spoke were—"Ah le beau jour!" The window-curtains had been drawn back, and the bright autumnal sun shed its rays into the chamber. When he had expired in her arms, she summoned up resolution to close his eyes, and cross his arms over his breast. After this effort she fainted. Her affliction was boundless; and, for several days,

she paid no regard to the advice of her attendants, and even of her confidential physician Dr. Stoffregen. The following letters, which she wrote to the Empress Maria, will be read with much interest, as they present the simple expressions of profound grief and Christian resignation.

"Taganrog, Nov. 18, (O. S.) 1825.

"DEAR MOTHER,

"I was not in a state to write to you by the courier of yesterday. To-day, a thousand and a thousand thanks to the Supreme Being, there is decidedly a very great improvement in the health of the emperor—of that angel of benevolence, in the midst of his sufferings. For whom should God manifest his infinite mercy, if not for him? Oh! my God, what moments of affliction have I passed; and you, dear mother, I can picture to myself your uneasiness. You receive the bulletins. You have therefore seen to what a state we

were yesterday reduced, and still more last night; but Wylie (an English physician), to-day, says himself, that the state of our dear patient is satisfactory. He is exceedingly weak. Dear mother, I confess to you, that I am not myself, and that I can say no more. Pray with us—with fifty millions of men, that God may deign to complete the cure of our well-beloved patient.

"ELIZABETH."

"November 19.

"Our angel is gone to heaven, and I—I linger still on earth. Who would have thought that I, in my weak state of health, could ever have survived him? Do not you abandon me, dear mother, for I am absolutely alone in this world.

"Our dear deceased has resumed his looks of benevolence; his smile proves to me that he is happy, and that he gazes on brighter objects than exist here below. My only consolation

under this irreparable loss is, that I shall not survive him; I hope to be soon reunited to him.

"ELIZABETH."

We add the following from a series of letters written from Taganrog, from the 10th of November to the 1st of December, the day of the emperor's death. The first three of the 18th, 21st, and 24th of November, wholly coincide with the preceding statements respecting the origin of the disorder, and the slight apprehensions that were entertained till a few days after his return from the Crimea. When the following letters were written, the disorder had assumed a decisive character.

"November 27th. We are in the greatest alarm repecting the emperor. The disorder has become much worse in the last three days, and assumed a very serious and dangerous character. The fever with which he was attacked on his journey to the Crimea has turned to a

bilious inflammatory fever. It was very unfortunate that the emperor, who deceived himself respecting his situation, would not use, at the very beginning, the remedies prescribed by the physicians. He has now consented to do so, and the leeches which were applied to-day considerably reduced the inflammation for some hours, but it afterwards returned with increased violence, and, notwithstanding the repeated application of a mustard plaster, has not been removed.

"The empress, notwithstanding her delicate state of health, does not leave her husband a moment. May heaven grant her strength to support the misfortune with which we are threatened!"

"November 28, half-past nine in the morning. The emperor grows worse every hour. All proper remedies have been employed without lessening the disorder, which, since this morning, has become a nervous fever. He has

not spoken for this hour or more. The last medicines given him have produced no effect, and his majesty is therefore in the greatest danger."

"November 29, half-past eight in the morning. Our patient has passed a most dreadful night. Whenever he attempted to raise himself, he was seized with fainting fits, so that the persons about him several times expected that the next moment would be his last. At six o'clock a blister was applied to his back, which restored him to the use of his faculties. May heaven grant only one tranquil night, we may then have some hopes of escaping the misfortune which threatens us. The emperor recognized the persons about him, smiled upon every one, and even spoke in a pretty loud voice to the empress, who bears with astonishing fortitude, the painful situation in which she is placed."

"November 30, four o'clock in the afternoon.

The ray of hope which we had yesterday has vanished like a dream. The fever increased yesterday evening in a terrible degree. The night was dreadful, and this forenoon very bad. Towards noon the patient felt a revival of his strength, which continues to this moment. Nevertheless, the danger is still very great, and we look forward with anxious apprehension to what the next night may produce."

"December 1st—It is passed—This morning, at fifty minutes past ten o'clock, the dreadful blow was struck! After a mortal agony of eleven hours, the Emperor Alexander expired.

"The empress had not for a moment quitted his sick-bed. She has closed his eyes and mouth. May God grant her courage and strength to support her irreparable loss."

Whilst these melancholy scenes were passing at Tàganrog, the empress mother, and the other members of the imperial family,

at St. Petersburg, and the inhabitants of that city, were agitated by alternate hopes and fears. On the 29th of November, in the afternoon, a letter was received from the emperor, dated the 17th, in which he mentioned that he had returned to Taganrog, rather indisposed. On the 30th, in the evening, the Grand Duchess Helena Pawlowna, consort of the Grand Duke Michael, who was then at Warsaw, with the Grand Duke Constantine, received a letter from the Empress Elizabeth, dated the 21st, requesting her to inform the Empress Maria, that the emperor was better, and that she did not write to her majesty herself, lest it should appear that she thought his disorder serious. On the 4th of December, a letter from the empress dated the 24th, was received, in which she mentions that the return of the fever prevented his majesty from writing, and added, that she hoped she would soon be able to write upon other subjects. On the 7th of November, a courier dispatched from Taganrog, on the 27th, brought a letter from General Diebitsch,

with the afflicting news that the Emperor's disorder, which he stated to be a bilious fever, had increased, that the paroxysms had become much more violent, and almost uninterrupted, since the 25th, and especially on the 26th. These critical circumstances, induced the persons about the Emperor to recommend him to have recourse to the Holy Sacrament, which he received with the devotion and firmness that distinguished his character. On the 27th, he had lost the use of his faculties and of speech. While the capital was a prey to inexpressible anxiety, a courier, dispatched from Taganrog, on the 29th of November, at eleven o'clock at night, and who had travelled with extraordinary rapidity, arrived on the 8th of December, just at the conclusion of the prayers in the churches, with a letter of the 29th, from the Empress Elizabeth, in which she stated, that there was a positive improvement in the situation of the emperor, which was confirmed by a private letter from Prince Wolkonsky. Sir James Wylie, in the

bulletin of the same day (29th) writes, that by the application of external means, they had succeeded in rousing Alexander from the state of lethargy in which he had been, so that the hopes of a happy issue were increased.

The joy which these favourable accounts had spread in the capital and the court, was unfortunately of very short duration. A courier, who arrived on the 9th, in the morning, brought the melancholy intelligence, that the emperor had expired on the 1st of December, between ten and eleven in the morning, in the arms of his august consort, the Empress Elizabeth.

The empress mother was attending the *Te Deum*, which was celebrated in consequence of the favourable news received the preceding evening, when the Grand Duke Nicholas, who was first made acquainted with the melancholy event, caused divine service to be broken off, and desired the archimandrite to go with the

crucifix in his hand, and thus to announce to her the afflicting intelligence, accompanied by the consolations that religion alone can give.

As soon as the imperial family had, in some degree, recovered the first shock, the Grand Duke Nicholas immediately caused all the military on duty in the palace, then the guards, the general staff, all the regiments of the garrison, and all the authorities of the capital, to take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor Constantine the First, to whom a courier had been dispatched from Taganrog, with the earliest news of the melancholy event which called him to the throne.

The declaration of the renunciation of the throne by Constantine, the proclamation of the Grand Duke Nicholas, as successor to Alexander, and the events that afterwards occurred at St. Petersburg, are sufficiently known.

Here then we pause;—a new era begins, and

we have only to wish, as we most sincerely do, for the benefit of Russia, and of the world, of which that empire forms so large a part, that the successor of Alexander may continue with the same ardour, perseverance, and success, his plans for the internal improvement of his dominions, and for increasing the prosperity and happiness of the many nations who own his sway.

NOTES.

NOTE 1.—PAGE 1.

The final syllable *witsch*, sometimes, but improperly, written *witz*, which is added to many Russian proper names, means son: Pawlowitsch, therefore, is the son of Paul. This designation, which we meet with among many nations, originated in the times when the use of hereditary family names was not yet introduced.

NOTE 2.—PAGE 1.

The Russian emperor is the only European sovereign who has the title of Autocrat, which indicates his absolute power.

NOTE 3.—PAGE 1.

The expression of "all the Russias" is founded on the ancient division of Russia, which comprehended the provinces of Great or Black Russia, Little or Red Russia and White Russia.

Note 4.—Page 71.

The late General Lloyd who was well acquainted with Russia, being asked in the time of Catherine II. whether he did not think that Russia possessed a great number of able men, replied, "Yes; but they are exotics, which will produce no seed; but must be replaced as they fall off by fresh supplies from more genial climates." When we see the vast number of foreigners even now employed in the military and civil service of Russia, may it not be said that this opinion has been confirmed to a very great degree.

Note 5.—Page 99.

The Prussian army, being composed chiefly of strangers of different countries, manners, and religion, are united only by the strong chain of military discipline: this, and a most rigid attention to keep up all the forms and discipline established, constitutes a vast and regular machine, which, being animated by the vigorous and powerful genius of their leader, may be justly accounted one of the most respectable armies in Europe; but should this spring, however, languish, but for an instant only, the machine itself being composed of such heterogeneous matter, would probably fall to pieces, and leave nothing but the traces of its ancient glory behind."—See Lloyd's History of the War in Germany, Vol. II. page xxxvii.

NOTE 6.—PAGE 102.

We have expressed our opinion of the change in the sentiments of Alexander towards Napoleon, without hinting a suspicion of its sincerity. Our own opinion is, that he was sincere. But Count Boutourlin, in his history of the campaign of 1812, speaking of the treaty of Tilsit, and the hostile spirit shewn towards Russia, in the formation of the grand duchy of Warsaw, says, "the Emperor Alexander could not mistake the spirit of those arrangements: but the unfortunate circumstances in which Russia was placed, obliged him to put an end to the war at any price. It was above all things requisite to gain the time, necessary to prepare in a suitable manner for the struggle, which, it was very certain, would one day be renewed." Though Count Boutourlin, as aid-de-camp to Alexander, ought to be well informed, we are unwilling to believe that the emperor did not act with perfect good faith on that occasion, and subsequently at the congress of Erfurth.

NOTE 6*.—PAGE 102.

Alexander meant that, in his eyes, the bravest man in his empire was the handsomest. He had good reason for thinking in this manner. The following anecdote of Suwarrow will illustrate this point. On one occasion,

during his campaign in Switzerland, the Russian grenadiers formed the vanguard; and, exhausted by fatigue and privations, they refused to advance. Before them were some steep heights, defended by a considerable corps of French troops, to which there was no approach except by a defile, where the Russians feared that they should perish to a man. Suwarrow rushed into the midst of the mutineers, and, on their reiterated refusal to march, he coolly ordered a pit, some feet in length, to be dug, in which he laid himself down before the astonished soldiers, saying, "Since you refuse to follow me, I am no longer your general. I remain here; this pit will be my grave. Soldiers, cover with earth the body of him, who, so many times, led you to victory." Moved, even to tears, but electrified by these few words, the soldiers swore never to forsake him; and, led by him, rushed into the terrible defile, where a great number of them were killed, but the rest forced the passage, and opened it to the remains of the army.

Note 7.—Page 115.

During the inactivity, to which the main armies of both powers were reduced, after the sanguinary battle of Eylau, while, however, the French were permitted to pursue unmolested, the siege of Dantzig, the inhabitants of the north of Germany, who looked forward with the greatest

anxiety to the result of the contest, used frequently to lament (when they could do it with safety) that the English government did not send some troops to join the Russian and Prussian armies in Poland. They fancied that 20,000 English troops would suffice to turn the scale; a notion, which, whatever might be thought of it, as a compliment to the English, was not very flattering to the allies, with 200,000 men in the field. Had the latter been able to engage Napoleon, before the surrender of Dantzig set at liberty 50,000 veteran troops to join the grand army, the battle of Friedland, would, perhaps, not have been lost by the allies.

NOTE 8.—PAGE 128.

The Grand Duke, though he went to Erfurth, was reported, at the time, to have been by no means disposed to imitate the emperor his brother, in his deference to Napoleon. Many stories, indicative of his sentiments, were circulated in Germany on the occasion. The following was related to me by a gentleman who was in Erfurth, during the whole of the congress:—"A grand entertainment being at hand, at which all the sovereigns and princes, and other illustrious persons, were either invited by the French emperor, or, at least, expected to attend, as a mark of respect to him, the Grand Duke

Constantine, expressed a determination not to be present. It being apprehended that this might give offence to the French emperor, or, at any rate, attract the notice of the public, who eagerly watched every motion of the sovereigns; a report was spread, that the Grand Duke was indisposed, a report which his imperial highness thought fit to refute, by driving about the steets of Erfurth during a great part of the day, in an open carriage."

NOTE 9.—PAGE 163.

This was the opinion of many persons at the time, and I expressed it twelve years ago in an account of the conduct of the French at Hamburgh, published 1813. I received the intimation from one of the most distinguished officers of the French army; and it is much strengthened by the recent publication of Count Segur.

NOTE 10.—PAGE 166.

The most particular account of this temple, which, if ever it should be finished, will be the largest in Europe, has been given by Dr. Lyall in his travels.

NOTE 11.—PAGE 170.

Alexander's first care, on arriving at Wilna, was to bestow the most flattering rewards on Marshal Kutusoff,

on whom he had already conferred the glorious title of Smolenskoi. The marshal received the order of St. George of the first class, a distinction the more honourable, as at that time, those who had enjoyed it during the reign of Catherine were dead, and since the accession of Paul I. it had not been conferred upon any body.

NOTE 12.—PAGE 295.

Nikita.—An account of the places in the Crimea, visited by the emperor on this tour, will be found in the Annual Cabinet of Foreign Voyages and Travels for 1826, in the article, Journey in Taurida, by Muraview Apostol.

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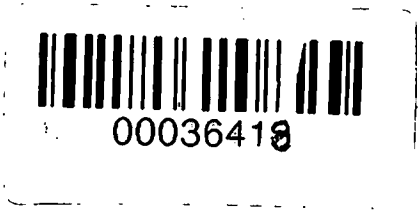
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